THE STORY OF THE CONFEDERACY AS TOLD BY SOUTHERN WOMEN

by

Hettie Robertson

TREASURE ROOM

DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
DURHAM, N. C.

Sigillum Universitatis Dukensis
Eruditio et Religio

Rec'd 1937

Author

Donor

THE STORY OF THE CONFEDERACY AS TOLD BY SOUTHERN WOMEN

by

Bessie Robertson

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts
in the Graduate School
of Arts and Sciences
of
Duke University

1937

THE STORY OF THE CONFEDERACY AS TOLD BY SOUTHERN WOMEN

by

Hettie Robertson

Approved, May 29, 1937:

Richard H. Shryock

Charles S. Sydnor

H. Hunter Smith

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts
in the Graduate School
of Arts and Sciences
of
Duke University

1937

THE STORY OF THE CONFEDERACY AS TOLD BY SOUTHERN WOMEN

by

Hettie Robertson

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts
in the Graduate School
of Arts and Sciences
of
Duke University

1937

Th.R.
1937-73
A.M.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION..... 1

CHAPTER 1. SOUTHERNERS AND WASHINGTON SOCIETY DURING THE FIFTIES..... 1

CHAPTER 2. SECESSION..... 22

CHAPTER 3. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFEDERACY..... 55

CHAPTER 4. ECONOMIC AND OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE CONFEDERACY..... 85

CHAPTER 5. CONFEDERATE WOMEN AND HOSPITAL SERVICE... 141

CHAPTER 6. CONFEDERATE WOMEN SPIES..... 174

CHAPTER 7. GAYETY AND ROMANCE IN THE CONFEDERACY.... 192

CHAPTER 8. THE END OF THE CONFEDERACY..... 215

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 252

310759

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1. SOUTHERNERS AND WASHINGTON SOCIETY DURING THE PRETIES 7

CHAPTER 2. SECESSION 22

CHAPTER 3. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFEDERACY 55

CHAPTER 4. ECONOMIC AND OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE CONFEDERACY 85

CHAPTER 5. CONFEDERATE WOMEN AND HOSPITAL SERVICE ... 141

CHAPTER 6. CONFEDERATE WOMEN SPIES 174

CHAPTER 7. GAYETY AND ROMANCE IN THE CONFEDERACY 192

CHAPTER 8. THE END OF THE CONFEDERACY 215

BIBLIOGRAPHY 252

Introduction

This work describes the life and times of the South during the War between the States. It endeavors to present a cross section survey of the Confederacy as seen by the Southern women: prominent men and women of the South; the secession movement of the sixties; the organization of the Confederacy; the political, economic and social activities of the Southern states; the work of women in hospitals and their participation in other phases of Confederate life; and the events of the last months of the War between the States in which the Confederacy was destroyed. Unfortunately, because of the wide scope of the themes, a far too sketchy treatment is necessary. In spite of this limitation, however, a real, if not complete, picture of the women of the South, and the war as seen by them, is the purpose of this study.

310759

Introduction

This work describes the life and times of the South during the War between the States. It endeavors to present a cross section survey of the Confederacy as seen by the Southern women: prominent men and women of the South; the secession movement of the sixties; the organization of the Confederacy; the political, economic and social activities of the Southern states; the work of women in hospitals and their participation in other phases of Confederate life; and the events of the last months of the War between the States in which the Confederacy was destroyed. Unfortunately, because of the wide scope of the themes, a far too sketchy treatment is necessary. In spite of this limitation, however, a real, if not complete, picture of the women of the South, and the war as seen by them, is the purpose of this study.

This book describes the life and times of the South
[illegible] War between the States. It endeavors to
[illegible] cross section survey of the Confederacy as
[illegible] the Southern women: prominent men and women
[illegible]; the secession movement of the sixties; the
[illegible]tion of the Confederacy; the political, economic
[illegible] analyzing in very [illegible]: the wife
[illegible] hospitals and their participation in other
[illegible] Confederate life; and the events of the Lost
[illegible] the War between the states in which the Con-
[illegible] has destroyed. Unfortunately, because of the
[illegible] scope of the theme, a far too sketchy treatment is
[illegible]. It [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] complete, picture of the women of the South, and
[illegible] been so seen by them, is the purpose of this study.

As a preparation for this thesis, about sixty published diaries and memoirs and several unpublished diaries and letters of Confederate women were examined. They were representative of many social classes and sections. Among the ladies of the wealthy and the politically prominent circles who have left their accounts were Mrs. James Chestnut Jr., Mrs. Jefferson Davis, Mrs. Burton Harrison, Mrs. Roger Pryor and Mrs. Giraud Wright. They were, not only clever, fascinating women of a brilliant world, but they were near enough to the heart of the Confederacy to understand what was taking place behind the scenes, consequently, gave excellent interpretations of the perplexing situations of the day. The diaries of the young daughters of the planters are delightfully frank and ardent in their "firebrand" loyalty to the cause. Several, however, are valuable sources for facts contained in this study and frequent citations are made to the works of Eliza Frances Andrews, Elizabeth Allen Coxe, Sarah Morgan Dawson and Elizabeth Allston Pringle. In a more serious, reflective mood are the accounts written by the wives of the clergymen and professional class. Although it is difficult for one of a later century to penetrate deeply enough into the life of the past fully to grasp the significance of their expressions, yet,

after carefully considering the writings of Mrs. Judith B. McGuire, Mrs. J. H. Moore, Mrs. Cornelia McDonald, Mrs. Sallie Brock Putnam, Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer and Mrs. Margaret Junkin Preston, the writer feels that their views were compatible with those of the majority of Southerners. Occupying a prominent place among the diaries and memoirs of the matrons and nurses are those of Miss Kate Cummings, Mrs. Fannie Beers, Mrs. Ella Trader Newsome, Mrs. Phoebe Yates Pember and Mrs. S. E. D. Smith. Still another side of Confederate life is revealed in the exciting personal experiences of Belle Boyd and Mrs. Rose Greenhow, the two best known of the many women who served the Confederacy as spies. There are the accounts of Catherine Hopley Smith, a blockaded British subject, and Mrs. Betty Bentley, another Englishwoman, who operated a mercantile business in Mississippi; the valuable contributions of Parthenia Hague and Julia LeGrand, who were teaching in schools at the outbreak of the war; the charming story of a young war bride, a Mrs. Dan Grey, who related happenings in war-torn Virginia; and the disastrous effects of the war on plantation life are vividly described in the memoirs of Mrs. Susan Dabney Smedes, the wife of one of the wealthiest planters in Mississippi. Then, too, there are the writings of the women of families who were divided in sentiments

and loyalties. Included in this group are Eliza Andrews, daughter of Judge Garnette Andrews, a loyal Unionist; Sarah Morgan, whose brother Judge Philip Morgan of New Orleans refused to endorse secession and Mrs. Margaret Junkin Preston. Therefore, from such a large number of varied and widely scattered sources, it has been possible to form general summaries and conclusions concerning war time conditions in the Confederacy.

It is readily seen that a subject of this broad nature could never have been handled without the generous assistance of others. To all who have aided me, I wish to express my grateful appreciation. To the libraries of Duke University and the University of North Carolina, I am indebted for many courtesies. And to Dr. William K. Boyd, under whose guidance this thesis has been prepared, I wish to express my gratitude.

Chapter I

SOUTHERNERS AND WASHINGTON SOCIETY DURING THE FIFTIES

As a proper prologue for the stirring narrative of the War between the States, a sketchy account of the society of Washington during the fifties has been included in this study. Besides furnishing a colorful and pleasing background, it needs to be considered with the subsequent events in order to complete the story of secession and the war which disrupted the nation in the early years of the sixties. For, in no other period of the nation's history has there assembled a more distinctive and brilliant group than the men and women who made up the political and social life of the capital. By merely studying a statistical history one would miss the aura of vitality and charm which surrounded that exciting era--he would fail to catch the aliveness of the vibrant personalities who were playing, either as an intent and cautious player or as an interested bystander, a vital part in that great, absorbing game of sectionalism.

Then, as always, a figure of commanding interest was the President of the United States. In speaking of President James Buchanan, the Southern ladies who were living at Washington were ever ready to express a warm admiration for him. His kindness and geniality, as well as his fluency in social conversation and delight in participating in society, made him a popular member in any group. Numerous invitations were extended to him and readily accepted. There remains in the intimate recollections of the ladies who knew him entertaining insights on his personality and unofficial manners.[1] A charming and unposed portrait has been handed down from the pen of Mrs. Roger Pryor, one of Washington's most beautiful and popular women and wife of a distinguished congressman of Virginia,[2] when she wrote that-

---

[1]Virginia Clay Clopton, Belle of the Fifties, p.90. Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, Reminiscences of Peace and War, pp.47-53.

[2]Roger Atkinson Pryor (1828-1919) Congressman, Confederate soldier, jurist, was the son of Theodoric Bland Pryor, a descendant of the Blands and Randolphs of Virginia. His father, although a lawyer of distinction, had deserted the profession and had become the pastor of a Presbyterian Church. Roger was born near Petersburg, Virginia. He began his education at the Classical Academy of Petersburg. In 1843, he entered Hampden Sidney College and was graduated in 1845, as valedictorian of his class with a reputation for wide reading and convincing oratory. On November 8, 1845, while studying law at the University of Virginia, he married Sara A. Rice who had been practically adopted as the only child of her uncle and aunt, Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Hargrave. She was noted for her beauty and in the forties was a popular member of the society of Charlottesville which was composed of "a few families" of early residents and of the professors of the University--Governor Gilmer, Mr. Valentine Southall, Dr. Charles Carter, Professor Tucker, William B. Rogers,

(continued on page 3)

> we attended Dr. Gurley's church and found that the President also had taken a seat in that church. Our own was near the door, and for many Sundays before I knew him I was interested in seeing him enter the church and walk briskly up to his pew near the pulpit (while the bell was ringing), buttoned in his broad cloth coat, wearing no overcoat in the coldest weather. . . . After I knew him quite well, I slways spoke to him when he passed near the door, and I sometimes ventured 'A good sermon, Mr. President!' he never failing to reply, 'Too long, madam, much too long.'[3]

Against the current criticisms of President Buchanan, some of which have lasted until the present time, the most common being that he was influenced by the southern Senators and Representatives, Mrs. Pryor was loyal in her defense, and frequently stated that she only knew that "he was most kind to us, and I refuse to believe that we were of consequence enough to make this kindness a matter of policy. I would fain think he really liked us, really desired to add to our happiness."[4] Certainly, there has been handed down a more sympathetic picture of the harassed Buchanan by the feminine writers. Their marked sympathy and genuine concern were expressed by numerous comments on his changed appearance caused by the worries of his office. A deep resentment was

---

(continued from page 2)

Dr. McGuffey, Dr. Cabell, Professor Harrison.

Two years after the marriage, young Pryor gave up law and distinguished himself as a newspaper editor. He was elected to Congress in 1850. Mrs. Roger Pryor, My Day, p.54. Dictionary of American Biography, XV, p.225.

[3]Mrs. Pryor, Reminiscences, pp.47-53.

[4]Ibid., p.53.

felt against the "obnoxious place hunters" who overwhelmed him after he had committed himself on the policy of rotation in office. For such tedious persons "exhausted him in listening to their petty interests at a time when the most important problem that ever confronted the head of a nation clamoured for his consideration." Furthermore, many years later Mrs. Pryor again answered his vicious critics with the following defense:

> Toward the last, when the older men almost gave up hope, his only prayer was that the catastrophe of conflict might not come in his day. He cannot be blamed above others for hesitations and vacillations. The problems were too mighty for one man's wisdom, too mighty for the collective wisdoms of many.[5]

Since President Buchanan was a bachelor, his attractive niece, Harriet Lane, presided as his hostess at the White House. Her loveliness and charm were favorite subjects of contemporary conversation and writings of the time. "Every motion," Mary Clemmer wrote of her, "was instinctive with life, health, and intelligence. Her head and features were cast in noble mould and her form, which at rest had something of the massive majesty of a marble pillar, in motion was instinct alike with power and grace." She had a warmth of coloring that further bore out the idea of abundant health. Her hair was of golden brown and "worn always with that

---

[5]Mrs. Pryor, op. cit., p.54.

absolute simplicity which best became her well-shaped head." Her eyes were of the deepest violet, and her mouth faultlessly beautiful with its full red lips and upward curve. She set the fashions of the day and "low necks and lace berthas were made fashionable because of their adoption by the lovely Miss Lane" and were worn almost universally. She not only possessed personal fascination, but her extensive travels had given her a savoir faire manner and poise which added to her grace as a hostess. She had presided over Buchanan's household when he had been minister at the Court of St. James. Such accomplishment, wrote Mrs. Clay, made her reign at the White House "one of complete charm."[6]

Among the more entertaining members of eminent rank in Washington's political and social circles were Lord and Lady Napier of the British Embassy. At their delightful dinners, musicales, receptions, and informal "at homes" were formed

---

[6]It is supposed that no American woman ever had more offers of marriage than Harriet Lane, and her uncle was a careful guardian. "I wish now to give you a caution," he wrote, "never allow your affections to become interested or engage yourself to any person without my previous advice. You ought never to marry any person who is not able to afford you a decent and immediate support. In my years I have witnessed the long years of patient misery and dependence which fine women have endured from rushing precipitately into matrimonial connections without sufficient reflections. Look ahead and consider the future, and act wisely in this particular."

With Buchanan, Harriet Lane passed out of public life, spending with him at Wheatland the historic four years that followed her days in the White House. In January, 1866, she married Henry Elliot Johnston of Baltimore.

Virginia Peacock, Famous Belles of Nineteenth Century, pp.161-174. Virginia Clay Clopton, Belles of the Fifties, pp.114-125. Mrs. Pryor, Reminiscences, p.55.

many lasting friendships and pro-southern sympathies which were to influence their loyalty to the Confederate cause during the war. Their drawing room, with its genuine hospitality, was a favorite of all the society loving Southerners who declared that "no representative of the Court of St. James did so much for the entertainment of our own people as Lord and Lady Napier."[7]

Then, as always, superb dinner parties were a favorite form of entertaining, and the notable hosts and hostess took great pride in their lavish affairs--so much that often the result merited consideration as a real artistic as well as a culinary creation of art. Such were the dinners of that prince of entertainers, Mr. William Wilson Corcoran, the celebrated patron of art.[8] Because of his high esteem for the South, many Southerners were included in the hospitality of his palatial home which had become a synomym for "good

---

[7]Virginia Clay Clopton, op. cit., p.144.

[8]William Wilson Corcoran (1798-1888), banker and philanthropist, a member of the famous Corcoran and Riggs banking firm. "As was the case with a majority of old and leading residents of the District of Columbia," says the Dictionary of American Biography, "his sympathies were with the South during the war, but this did not extend to any act of opposition to Federal authority." In order to escape the trials of conflict, he left the United States and remained abroad until after the War.

He gave $1,600,000 to the Corcoran Art Gallery, and many Southern Colleges were the recipient of large endowments; many Southerners were also.

Dictionary of American Biography, IV, 440.

[illegible] influence their loyalty to the Confederate cause [illegible] war. Their drawing room, with its genuine hospi- [illegible] that "no representative of the Court of St. James [illegible] the entertainment of our own people as lord [illegible].

[illegible] always, supers dinner parties were a favorite [illegible] entertaining, and the notable hosts and hostess took [illegible] their lavish affairs--so much that often the [illegible] considerations as a real artistic as well as [illegible] of art. Such were the dinners of that [illegible] patron of art.[5] Because of his high esteem for [illegible], many southerners were [illegible] [illegible] home which had become a synonym for "[illegible]

[illegible] Clay Clopton, op. cit., p.144.

[illegible] William Wilson Corcoran (1798-1888), banker and philan- [illegible] a member of the famous Corcoran and Riggs banking [illegible] was the case with a majority of old and leading [illegible] of the District of Columbia," says the Dictionary [illegible] "his sympathies were with the South [illegible] war, but this did not extend to any act of opposi- [illegible] federal authority." In order to escape the trials [illegible], he left the United States and remained abroad [illegible] the war.

[illegible] $1,500,000 to the Corcoran Art Gallery, and many [illegible] colleges were the recipient of large encounters; [illegible] southerners were also.

cheer." Senator and Mrs. Clement C. Clay, Jr., of Alabama[9] were frequent and welcome guests and the following is included in her memoirs:

> I remember an amusing meeting which my husband and I had one evening with Secretary Cobb. It took place on the Treasury pavement. Recognizing us as we approached, the bland good humor which was habitual to the Secretary deepened into a broad smile. 'Ah Clay!' he said to my husband, pulling down his vest with a look of complete satisfaction, 'Been to Corcoran's! Johannisberg and terrepin, Sir! I wish,' and he gave his waist coat another pull, glancing up at the tall stone building before him, 'I wish the Treasury was as full as I.'[10]

No where was the singular charm of Washington's brilliant life more in evidence than in the select clique of the Supreme Court set. Naturally, all the members of this respected group

---

[9]Clement Clairborne Clay (1816-1882), lawyer, senator, Confederate diplomat was a member of a distinguished family in the Tennessee Valley of Alabama. He was born near Huntsville, the son of Clement Comer Clay and Susannah Clairborne (Withers) Clay. He was graduated from the University of Alabama in 1834; served as private secretary to his father, the Governor, and engaged for a time in editorial work on the Huntsville Democrat. He entered the University of Virginia as a law student under the celebrated John B. Minor and received his degree in 1839. After service in the State Legislature, he was elected to the United States Senate in 1853. In the Senate he was an ardent defender of the principle of State's rights and supporter of the political philosophy of John C. Calhoun.

While a member of the State Legislature, he had married on February 1, 1843, at Tuscaloosa, Virginia C. Lunstall, who became one of the "brightest ornaments of Washington society" during her husband's service. They were popular members of the famous "Brown Mess." Dictionary of American Biography, IV, 170.

[10]Virginia Clay Clopton, op. cit., pp.121-122.

held enviable position, but Judge and Mrs. Archibald Campbell[11] were recognized as the leaders of this scholarly and hospitable group, and since they were "rich beyond many others, their home was widely known for sumptuous entertaining as well as for its intellectual atmosphere." Both Judge Campbell and his wife were Southerners, and, as in the case of many other sober minded persons who frequented their home, feared the trends of events which were gradually approaching disruption.

At all functions, whether at the large official affairs or at the more intimate, informal gatherings, many courtesies

---

[11]John Archibald Campbell (1811-1889), a lawyer, was associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and later became Assistant Secretary of War for the Confederacy. He was born at Washington, Georgia. Like so many of the inhabitants of the lower South, he was almost entirely of Scottish and Scotch-Irish blood. His paternal grandfather came to North Carolina in the migration of Highlanders that followed the disaster at Culloden. The grandfather, whose full name he bore, was an officer in the Continental army upon the personal staff of General Green. After the war, he became a judge of the North Carolina Court of Admiralty. The father, Duncan Green Campbell, moved to Georgia in 1808, and there married Mary Williamson, the daughter of the remarkable Sarah Williamson.

Young Campbell entered Franklin College (University of Georgia) when he was eleven; upon his graduation he entered West Point. After the death of his father, he abandoned his military career and prepared for the bar under the tutelage of his uncle, John W. Campbell, and Governor Clark. He moved to Alabama where he lived until his elevation to the bench. While there he married Anna Esther Goldthwaite, sister of Henry and George Goldthwaite.

Judge Campbell, Reverdy Johnson, and Robert J. Walker were the legal giants of the day and their clients were among the wealthiest of the Country. "Judge Campbell," wrote Mrs. Clay, "would probably have been Chief Justice if he had remained loyal to the Union."

Dictionary of American Biography, III.
Virginia Clay Clopton, op. cit., p.75.

and marks of respect were shown to Senator and Mrs. Davis of Mississippi.[12] Senator Davis was well known in Washington, having served as Representative, Senator, then as Secretary of War under President Pierce, and again returned as Senator from Mississippi. He was, according to the Memoirs of Mrs. Clay--

---

[12]Jefferson Davis (1808-1889), President of Confederate States of America, was born in Christian (now Todd) County, Kentucky, the tenth child of Samuel and Jane (Cook) Davis, who had moved westward from Georgia. In the Revolutionary War, Samuel Davis had commanded a cavalry. However, in Kentucky the family does not seem to have thriven. When Jefferson was a mere child they went to live on a small plantation near Woodville, Mississippi. Though Samuel Davis does not appear to have done much by way of improving the social position of his family, that result was achieved by his eldest son, Joseph Emory Davis, who acquired a fortune, education, and a prominent position in the new community of the southwest. Eventually, Joseph was considered one of the wealthiest men in the South.

At the age of seven, Jefferson was entered in a Roman Catholic Seminary, St. Thomas College in Washington County, Kentucky. At nine he returned to local schools in Mississippi. Later he attended Transylvania College. On September 1, 1824, he matriculated at West Point, and upon graduation in 1828, he became a lieutenant in the United States Army. Among his southern classmates, who were destined to have fateful relations with him in after years, were both the Johnstons and Robert E. Lee.

Because of the disapproval of Colonel Zackary Taylor to the marriage of his daughter, Sarah, and Davis, the young lieutenant resigned from the army and became a planter in Mississippi from 1835 to 1845. During this period his wife died and he married Varina Howell on February 26, 1845. His second wife was a local beauty, a member of the utmost social rank, and a high spirited and accomplished lady. This marriage identified him conclusively with the local aristocracy.

Although he had renounced the military life, Davis maintained a deep seated love for the army, and believed himself to be an excellent soldier. He returned to army life during the Mexican War and won laurels at the battle of Buena Vista.

After his return from the war, his career as a statesman led him to the Senate, Cabinet, and later returned as Senator.

H. J. Eckenrode, Jefferson Davis.

Dictionary of American Biography, V.

> always a man of distinguished appearance, and at that time exceedingly slender, but his step was springing, and he carried himself with such an air of conscious strength and ease and prupose as often to cause a stranger to turn and look at him. His voice was very rich and sonorous, his enunciation most pleasing. In public speech he was eloquent and magnetic, but curiously enough he was a poor reader, often mouthing his phrases in a way that would have aroused Hamlet's scorn. Though spoken of as cold and houghty, in private his friends found him refreshingly informal and frank. . . . All his efforts were concentrated on his duties, and it was said that, 'so wonderful was Mr. Davis' oversight of the Department of War while under his charge that it would have been impossible for the Government to have been cheated out of the value of a brass button.'[13]

Naturally, in such a large group of eminent Southerners, there were many ladies noted for both beauty and intellect, but there were none who outrivaled or eclipsed the rare combination of both beauty and intellect possessed by Varina Howell Davis, the much-written-about wife of Senator Davis.[14]

---

[13]Virginia Clay Clopton, op. cit., pp.68-69.

[14]Varina Howell Davis (1826-1906) was born at "The Briers" near Natchey, Mississippi. Her father was William Burr, son of Richard Howell, the Revolutionary Governor of New Jersey: her mother was Margaret Louisa, the daughter of James Kemp, a Virginian of Irish descent. "When not assisting in Military enterprises," wrote Mrs. Rowland, "James Kempe with his wife (Margaret Graham of Virginia) ruled over his plantation in 'lordly style'. . . The Kempes, in addition to their Virginia background, were among the well-bred, wealthy Communicants of the Episcopal Church, which included what was termed the aristocracy of the state. With these recognised props and stays it was not surprising that they moved in the first social circles and as the years went by held themselves as the leaders and shapers of the political and social life about them."

Varina's girlhood was spent on the plantation or at Natchey. Much of her early education was received from a

(continued on page 11)

She was a great favorite of cultivated men and women who delighted in her scintillating intellect and rare wit. But as is often the case with such admirable ladies, her real efforts were directed in rearing her young family, and her social appearances were less frequent than her many friends desired.

As is well known, the rolls of the Supreme Court, Senate, and House of Representatives presented a long list of notables in the late fifties. "It would seem," observed Mrs. Pryor, "that our country knowing herself to be in mortal danger,

---

(continued from page 10)
devoted tutor, Judge George Winchester. Later she spent two years at Madame Greenland's School at Philadelphia. On February 26, 1846, she married Jefferson Davis who had that year entered Congress. According to a biographer it was "as much as with her beauty, though he was not blind to her physical charms, Jefferson Davis was charmed with her unusual mental powers," and, "as well as good looks she had a mind that would, " Mr. Joseph Davis boasted, "fit her for any sphere that the man to whom she was married might well feel proud to reach."

The townspeople found it hard to believe that Varina had married a Democrat and a Baptist. Although Varina had been brought up a Whig, she eventually accepted his politics, became watchful over his reputation, and was keenly sensitive to any criticism of his political theories. While her husband was at the front in the Mexican War, she assumed sole charge of their plantation, "Brierfield." In 1847, he was sent to the Senate, and soon her drawing room at Washington was the scene of many notable gatherings. "No woman," says Mrs. Rowland, a recent biographer, "drew to herself more favorable attention for good looks, for good taste in dress and manners, for intellectual charm and power. . . . But, with all the allurements of social life and the growing desire for prestige, she could never divest herself of love of home and its privacy."

Eron Rowland, Varina Howell, I.

(continued from page 10)

had summoned the wisest of her sons to council: Rufus Choate, Curtis, Seward, Douglas, Jefferson Davis, Salmon Chase, Sumner, Hale, Toombs, Hunter, Cobb, Robert J. Walker, and the brilliant men of the lower House; all these were present at the great consultation."[15]

Of all these men, in the opinion of Mrs. Pryor, the most interesting, picturesque, and prominent was undoubtedly Stephen A. Douglas. His political career is well known to a world which is still devided in their opinions and estimates of him. There were conflicting discussion and conclusions by his contemporaries, as well as the present generation, concerning his beliefs which motivated his acts--was his fevered life the result of patriotism, or of personal ambition? In speaking of him, one who knew him, but liked him not described his as--

> erect, compact, agressive--a personage truly to be questioned timidly, to be approached advisedly. Here indeed was a lion, by the very look of him, a master of himself and others. By reasons of its regularity and masculine strength, a handsome face. A man of the world to the cut of his coat across the broad shoulders. Here was one to lift a youngster into the realm of emulation, like a character in a play, to arouse dreams of Washington and its Senators and great men. For this was one to be consulted by the great alone. A figure of dignity and power with the magnetism to compel moods. Since, when he smiled you warmed in spite of yourself, and when he frowned the world looked grave.[16]

---

[15]Mrs. Pryor, Reminiscences, p.66.

[16]Ibid., pp.66-68.

For many years Douglas had been a familiar and popular member of Washington's select political and social groups, and his appearance was even more frequent after his second marriage[17] to the beautiful Adele Cutts, one of the most famous belles of the fifties, who was "tall, stately, and fair exceedingly." Although she had lacked wealth, Miss Cutts had social connections which introduced her into the most eminent as well as the gayer groups of Washington society--she was the great niece of Dolly Madison, and the niece of the noted southern sympathizer, Mrs. Rose Greenhow, one of the wealthiest and most intellectual women of her time.[18] Having been properly introduced to society, her loveliness of face and character aroused great admiration and she soon became a popular belle in the diplomatic and official circles. She possessed a beauty of purest Greek type--the faultless outline of her profile, the shapeliness of her head, her large, dark eyes, her chestnut hair that showed glints of golden hue in the sunshine, the creamy tone of her skin, the perfect proportion and development of her tall figure all combined to make her a creature of rare beauty and grace. However, There were some who were a little cautious in their praise, as

---

[17]Stephen Douglas had married Martha Denning Martin of North Carolina. She was the daughter of a wealthy planter and possessed a hundred and fifty slaves. After her death in 1852, he married Adele Cutts in 1856.
Dictionary of American Biography.

[18]Virginia Clay Clopton, op., cit., p.35.

is often true of one beautiful woman writing of another, and Mrs. Pryor wrote that Mrs. Douglas did not impress her as having what "we call depth of character or what is commonly implied in the term superior . . . but she was beautiful as a pearl, sunny tempered, unselfish, warmhearted, unaffected, and sincere." With interest and concern she followed the exciting career of her "little giant" and after his strenuous speeches on the Senate floor would await him with his overcoat as he hurriedly left the chamber dripping with perspiration.

Another lady who graced the senatorial circles was the popular wife of Senator Clay of Alabama, who in the opinion of Mrs. Pryor, was the "wittiest and brightest of them all." She possessed a rare sense of humor and glibness of tongue which added to a choice flavor to every company, whether old friends or mere acquaintances. It seems that a costume ball at which she impersonated Mrs. Partington was remembered for years after those happy days had passed never to be relived again. In keeping with the spirit of the occasion, Mrs. Partington's sayings could not be arranged beforehand or coined for the performance, her malaprop replies had to be improvised on the monent, and had to be seasoned with wit to redeem them from commonplace dullness. With her usual cleverness, Mrs. Clay rose to the occasion, and her Mrs. Partington became the Mrs. Partington of the future.[19] In speaking of her, a recent

---

[19]Mrs. Roger Pryor, Reminiscences, p.78

writer[20] has written what while "she did not possess great beauty, her many accomplishments and her conversational ability made ample compensations," and while her "mental powers were never profound" her scintillating intellect was suited to make her a popular leader of the famous Congressional "Mess" at Brown Hotel.[21]

---

[20]Ruth Ketring, Clay of Alabama, unpublished thesis in Duke University Library, pp.137-145.

Virginia Caroline Tunstall, daughter of Dr. Peyton Randolph Tunstall and Ann Arrington, was born on January 16, 1825, in Nash County, North Carolina. Her mother having died at the age of twenty, when Virginia was only three, the child was given over to the care of relatives, and at the age of six was taken to Tuscaloosa, Alabama to live at the home of Henry Watkins Collier whose wife was Mary Ann Battle, half-sister of Ann Arrington. Four years later Virginia went to live in the home of Alfred Battle. She was sent to a Female Academy at Nashville, from which she was graduated in 1840. In 1842, she met Clement C. Clay, Jr., a young legislator, who became a suitor for her hand. In writing of Virginia to his mother, he said:

> "I am exceedingly fascinated with a young lady of this place and am almost resolved to address her. She is a great beauty--of elegant figure--of the sweetest grace and manner--of lively and vivacious humor--or superior and well cultivated mind--of a most aimable and tender heart--and of an excellent condition. She has but little property, yet enough to support her comfortably. She is proud and ambitious, aspiring to a high place in the world's eye and influenced by no mercenary motive in forming a matrimonial connection, as she has repeatedly shown by refusing the hands of wealthy but undeserving suitors."

The wedding of this young couple which took place on February 1, 1843 was the social event of the season (in) provincial Tuscaloosa--the legislature adjourned en masse and half the town was present.

[21]The old Brown Hotel was the popular meeting place of

(continued on page 16)

(continued on page 10)

Among the newcomers in the southern Coterie were Colonel and Mrs. James Chestnut of South Carolina.[22] This prominent couple were warmly received and were continually sought out by official hosts and hostesses. In speaking of them in her Memoirs, Mrs. Clay wrote that Colonel Chestnut was among the princes of wealth in the South. Approximately one thousand slaves owned by him were manumitted by Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of 1863 . . . childless, propertyless, our well beloved Mrs. Chestnut suffered a terrible eclipse after her brilliant

---

(continued from page 15)
Southern statesmen. This congenial and gay group included many names well known in later generations, as well as in their own. Among the leaders were L. Q. C. Lamar, David Clopton, Colonel and Mrs. Chestnut, Mr. and Mrs. Roger Pryor, and Governor Collier of Alabama.

[22]James Chestnut (1815-1885), lawyer, planter, senator, Confederate soldier, came of Irish ancestors who left Virginia, their original abode in America, during the French and Indian war and settled at Camden where he was born. His father, James, Sr., of the third generation owned large plantations said to have aggregated five square miles--there were Mulberry, Sarsfield, Bloomburg, Cool Spring, Knight's Hill, the Hermitage, and Sandy Hill. His mother was Mary Cox of Philadelphia, a sister-in-law of Horace Binney, and James, Jr., was the youngest of her thirteen children. Like his father he was educated at Princeton, where in 1835 he was graduated after delivering the honorary oration. Having read law in Charlestown, South Carolina, under the guidance of James Louis Petigree, he was admitted to the Bar in 1837, and shortly afterwards commenced practice in Camden. For fourteen years he served in the legislature of South Carolina, and in January, 1859, was appointed to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate. In November, 1860, when South Carolina was about to secede, he resigned and was active in the Southern cause, first as aide to General Beauregard, then as aide to President Davis, and finally as a brigadier-general to reserves in command of South Carolina.
Dictionary of American Biography, IV, 57.
Mary B. Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, introduction.

youth and middle age.[23] Mrs. Chestnut was the only daughter of Governor Miller of South Carolina, and having been educated abroad, was an accomplished linguist and ranked high among the cultured women of the capital. She was distinguished not only for intellectual graces, but for her "toilette elegancies, for which the bazaars of Paris were ransacked." Furthermore, to add to her part in that brilliant world, she chaperoned the lovely Preston girls of South Carolina, who were later to become two of the most noted belles of the Confederacy, also, the fashionable Miss Stevens of Stevens Castle who married Muscoe Garnett of Virginia.[24]

It is interesting to observe that a large number of Southerners held enviable positions and rank in the political and social cliques of President Buchanan's "Court." A correspondent of a leading New York newspaper wrote an interesting article on this observation. It was the opinion of this writer that southern ladies (before Lincoln's day) had long controlled Washington's social life, for "with their natural and inherited taste and ability in social affairs it was natural that the

---

[23]Mary Boykin Miller, a daughter of Stephen Decatur Miller, was born March 31, 1823. Her father was a man of distinction in the public affairs of South Carolina, having served his state as its representative in Congress in 1817, then became Governor in 1828 and Senator in 1830. He was a strong supporter of the nullification movement. He moved to Mississippi where he engaged in cotton planting until his death in 1838.

His daughter, mary, was married to James Chestnut, Jr., April 23, 1840 when seventeen years of age. Thenceforth her home was mainly at Mulberry near Camden. Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., introduction.

[24]Virginia Clay Clopton, op. cit., p.50.

reins should fall to them." Furthermore, the writer continued in a broader vein to assert that the Southerners "represented a clique of aristocracy; they were recognized leaders who could afford to smile good-naturedly at the awkward and perplexed attempts of the women from other sections."[25]

However, there are those who would feel that the correspondent was too prejudiced in her pro-southern sympathies and claims, and that she had overlooked notable men and women from other sections who were acknowledged leaders in all circles of the nation's capital. But, there are none to deny the prominence of the Southerners at all the social functions of the city: at the frequently written about debut of Adelina Patti in La Travita when the "most brilliant audience ever seen in Washington applauded the prima donna"; or when Charlotte Cushman gave her unapproachable Meg Merrilies; or the evening Thackery entertained them with Lord Lovell and Barbara Allen, and at all the musical concerts, and literary gatherings. Naturally, the social loving Southerners were loud in the praise of the pleasantness of their life at Washington.

But, the happy and friendly days were not to continue indefinitely, and by the closing months of 1859, the currents of the atmospheres heavily charged with sectional strife, were being felt in all circles at Washington. In constantly recurring instances, congenial friends of yesterday were now no longer

---

[25]Mrs. Roger A Pryor, Reminiscences, p.81. Mrs. Pryor quoted New York Herald, February 7, 1904.

regarded as such, and "names were dropped from visiting lists," and in order to prevent embarrassment, said Mrs. Pryor, all were careful to avoid occasions where members antagonistic to their party were expected. To show how strained relations between former friends had become, she recorded in her Reminiscences of Peace and War the following incident:

> My friend Mrs. Douglas espoused all her husband's quarrels and distinctly cut his opponents. There were a few boxes to be had at our little theatre--and the three best were usually secured by Mrs. Douglas, Miss Lane, and Mrs. John R. Thompson.[26] The feud between the President and Judge Douglas was bitter, and--Mrs. Douglas never appeared at Miss Lane's receptions all the winter of 1859-60. One evening we were in our theatre boxes, Miss Lane Next to us, and I the guest of Mrs. Douglas. Mr. Pordier Miles of South Carolina, a political opponent of Judge Douglas, appeared at the door of our box. Instantly Mrs. Douglas turned and said, 'Sir, you have made a mistake, your visit is intended for next door!' 'Madam,' said Mr. Miles, 'I presume I might be permitted to make my respects to Mrs. Pryor for whom my call was intended.' I had the benefit, of course, of the private opinion of each, and was able to be the friend of each. 'This, I suppose, is southern chivalry,' said my fair friend, 'it savors, I think, of ill-bred impertinence.' 'I had supposed her to be a lady,' said Mr. Miles, 'or at least a woman of the world, instead she behaved like a rustic--an ingenue.'

---

[26]John R. Thompson (1823-1873), editor and poet, born at Richmond, Virginia. He was owner, and editor of The Southern Messenger from 1847 to 1853, and editor until 1860. The period of Thompson's editorship was that of the magazine's greatest influence and reputation. When Virginia seceded, his pen became one of the readiest in the Confederacy. Later, he won reputation as a writer in England. His collected Poems were published in 1920.

> Both were betrayed by the mad passions of the hour--passions which caused older heads to misunderstand, mislead, and misbehave.[27]

In spite of continuous efforts and warnings by the leaders of the country, a spirit of antagonism was gathering momentum in all circles at Washington. Consequently, there were many who awaited, with an inner tenseness and outward nervousness, the opening of the Thirty-sixth Congress on December 5, 1859.

---

[27]Mrs. Roger Pryor, Reminiscences.

Chapter 2

Secession

On December 7, 1859 the Thirty-Sixth Congress assembled in the midst of more than normal excitement. To add to the already gloomy outlook, there had happened two events which had aroused a fevered condition in both the North and the South. The execution of John Brown, the radical abolitionist, by the Governor of Virginia, and the publication of Hinton Helper's The Impending Crisis[1] had tended to bring out long smouldering

---

[1]Helper, Hinton, (1829-1909). Author was born in Rowan (now Davie) County, N.C. Orphaned while a boy he grew up in straitened circumstances. He managed to graduate from Mocksville Academy in 1848. Attracted by the gold rush, he went to California in 1850. He published his first book The Land of Gold in 1855. Shortly after this he wrote The Impending Crisis which was a brief in behalf of the non-slave holding whites of the South. Contrasting the economic condition of the free and slave states, he attributed the backwardness of the South to the impoverishment of free labor by slavery. There was no trace of interest in the negro and his real or fancied wrongs. He attacked the slave-holders violently and threatened a slave uprising if necessary to overthrow the system. Published in 1857 it caused a sensation, one far greater than Uncle Tom's Cabin had done. In the North the book was read and in 1859 a fund was raised to print one hundred thousand copies for Republican campaign literature in 1860. John Sherman's indorsement of it caused his defeat for speaker of the House in 1859.
Dictionary of American Biography, viii, 517.

Chapter 2

[illegible]

[illegible]r 7, 1859 the Thirty-sixth Congress assembled in [illegible] of more than normal excitement. To add to the el- [illegible]tion, there had happened two events which had [illegible] a fevered condition in both the North and the South. [illegible] of John Brown, the radical abolitionist, by the [illegible]ernor of Virginia, and the publication of Hinton Helper's [illegible] had tended to brew out long smouldering

---

[illegible]Hinton, (1829-1909). Author was born in Huron (now [illegible]). O. Ousbanded while a boy he grew up in ephemeral [illegible]. [illegible]ected by the gold rush, he went to California in [illegible]. [illegible]published his first book The Land of Gold in 1855. [illegible] while he wrote The Impending Crisis which was a brief [illegible] of the non-slave holding workers of the South. Contrast- [illegible]ing the condition of the free and slave states, he exhort- [illegible]ed the abolishment of the South to the impoverishment of free [illegible]. There was no trace of interest in the negro [illegible] or fondled wrongs. He attacked the slave-holders [illegible]aristocracy and threatened a slave uprising if necessary to overturn [illegible] system. Published in 1857 it caused a sensation, one far [illegible]greater than Uncle Tom's Cabin had done. In the North the book [illegible] was used for Republican campaign literature in 1860. Horace [illegible]Greeley's endorsement of it caused his defeat for speaker of the House in 1859.

Dictionary of American Biography, viii, 517.

animosities, to stir up intense agitation among the "fire brands" and to awaken forebodings in the hearts of the more reflective individuals of both sections.

From all parts of the South came protests against The Impending Crisis, declaring it proposed revoultionary measures which would upset the whole structure of the southern society. The plan proposed in The Impending Crisis, according to Varina Howell Davis, was to abolish slavery in the slave holding states by exciting a revolution among the so-called "Poor Whites" against their rich slave-holding neighbors, who controlled them. The non-slave holding citizens were urged to demand:

1st. Thorough organization and independent political action on the part of the non-slave holding whites of the South.

2nd. Ineligibility of pro-slavery slave holders; never another vote to anyone who advocates the retention and perpetuation of human slavery.

3rd. No cooperation with pro-slavery politicians; no fellowships with them in religion; no affiliation with them in society.

4th. No patronage to pro-slavery merchants; no guestship in slave waiting hotels; no fees to pro-slavery lawyers; no employment to pro-slavery physicians; no audience to pro-slavery parsons.

5th. No more hiring of slaves by non-slave holders.

6th. Abrupt discontinuance of subscriptions to pro-

slavery newspapers.

7th. The greatest possible encouragement to free white labor.

8th. To adopt as a motto- The Abolition of Slavery and the perpetuation of the American Union.[2]

During the months preceeding the opening of Congress, the Southerners had been infuriated when copies of the book had been issued as campaign documents by the northern Senators and members of the House of Representatives, who endorsed the "disgraceful fanfaronade" as a true exposition of the issue."[3] This endorsement greatly aggravated old wounds of sectional strife and more pronounced divisions between the North and the South were in evidence.

Along with these controversial subjects were the reverberations of the armed factions which were carrying on a guerilla warfare on the plains of Kansas- the factions were divided on sectional interests. Thus, every member who was present at the opening of the Thirty-Sixth Congress knew that a real peril threatened the nation.

At the opening of the first session the roll stood, one hundred nine Republicans and one hundred one Democrats. The

---

[2]Varina Howell Davis. Jefferson Davis, 1. 648-649.

[3]Richmond Enquirer, April 20, 1860. John Sherman endorsed the book as an excellent treatment of existing truths.

[illegible]

[illegible] Fire or other possible encouragement to [illegible] white [illegible].

[illegible]. To scout as a motto- The Abolition of Slavery and [illegible] nation of the American Union."[2]

[illegible] months preceding the opening of Congress, the [illegible]s had been thickened when copies of the book had [illegible]ed as campaign documents by the northern Senators [illegible]s of the House of Representatives, who endorsed [illegible] doctrines" as a true exposition of the [illegible].[3] This endorsement greatly aggravated old wounds of [illegible] strife and more pronounced divisions between the [illegible] and the South were in evidence.

[illegible] with these controversial subjects were the November- [illegible]s of the armed factions which were carrying on a guer- [illegible] warfare on the plains of Kansas- the factions were divi- [illegible] . [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Republicans, however, could not boast of a decided majority, the balance of power being held by a few members still adhering to the virtually extinct Whig and "Know-Nothing" party, and a smaller number whose position was doubtful or irregular.

The contest for Speaker was memorable, both for its length, and for the fierce passions it aroused. For more than seven weeks, from the second to the fortieth ballot, John Sherman, Republican of Ohio carried his party with him. On January 3, 1860, finding his election impossible, he withdrew. The deadlock was broken by his withdrawal and two days later, on the forty-fourth ballot, William Pennington, a Republican from New Jersey was elected by a majority of one vote.[4]

As soon as the legislative business got under way, there was no further doubt concerning the critical situation which confronted the nation. The House dissolved itself into a veritable debating society, the paramount question being, Is slavery right or wrong? Shall it, or shall it not, be allowed in the territories? Furthermore, a member from Mississippi, L.Q.C. Lamar[5] threw an early firebrand, by announ-

---

[4]Varina Howell Davis, Op. cit., 1, 654.

[5]Lamar, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus (1825-1893). Mississippi statesman, semator, associate-justice of the United States Supreme Court was born in Putnam County, Georgia, son of L. Q.C. Lamar and Sarah Williamson. The Lamars were of Huguenot ancestry who settled in Georgia about 1775. His father was a distinguished father and judge. Young Lamar attended Emory College and studied law under Judge Chappell. He married Virginia Longstreet, daughter of A.B. Longstreet, president of Emory College and later president of the University of Mississippi. Lamar taught mathematics at the University of Mississippi, but decided to reenter the practice of law. He was elected to Congress in 1857.
Dictionary of American Biography, x, 551.

Republicans, however, could not boast of a decided majority, the balance of power being held by a few members still adhering to the virtually extinct Whig and "Know-Nothing" party, and a smaller number whose position was doubtful or irregular.

The contest for Speaker was memorable, both for its length, and for the fierce passions it aroused. For more than seven weeks, from the second to the fortieth ballot, John Sherman, Republican of Ohio carried his party with him. On January 3, 1856, finding his election impossible, he withdrew. The deadlock was broken by his withdrawal and two days later, on the forty-fourth ballot, William Pennington, a Republican from New Jersey was elected by a majority of one vote.

As soon as the legislative business got under way, there was no further doubt concerning the critical situation which confronted the nation. The House dissolved itself into a veritable debating society, the paramount question being, Is slavery right or wrong? Shall it, or shall it not, be allowed in the territories? Furthermore, a member from Mississippi, L.Q.C. Lamar[5] threw an early firebrand, by announ-

---

[5] Varina Howell Davis, Op. cit., 1, 654.

Lamar, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus (1825-1893). Mississippi Statesman, senator, associate-justice of the United States Supreme Court was born in Putnam County, Georgia, son of L. Q. C. Lamar and Sarah Williamson. The Lamars were of Huguenot country who settled in Georgia about 1775. His father was a distinguished father and judge. Young Lamar attended Emory College and studied law under Judge Chappell. He married Virginia Longstreet, daughter of A.B. Longstreet, president of Emory College and later president of the University of Mississippi. Lamar taught mathematics at the University of Mississippi, but decided to reenter the practice of law. He was elected to Congress in 1857.

cing on the floor of the House that "the Republicans are not guiltless of the blood of John Brown". In the confusion which followed the statement, Lawrence Keitt, member from South Carolina, declared in loud tones that "the South asks nothing but its rights. I would have no more, but as God is my judge, I would shatter the Republic from turret to foundation before I would take a little less." As an answer to such extreme convictions, Thaddeus Stevens, ardent abolitionist from Pennsylvania who urged for more definite action by the Republican party, replied that,

> I do not blame gentlemen of the South for using this threat of rendering God's creation from foundation to turret. They have tried it fifty times, and fifty times they have found recreant tremblers in the North who have been affected by it, and who have acted from those intimidations.[6]

In attempting to restore a more conciliatory attitude and in order to prevent further widening of the breach between the sections after such explosive outbursts, John Sherman denied an antagonistic attitude toward the South on the part of the Republican leaders, and that,

> When I came here I did not believe that the slave question would come up; and but for the unfortunate affair of Brown at Harper's Ferry, I do not believe that there would have been any feelings on the subject. Northern men came here with kindly feelings, no man approving the foray of John Brown, and every man willing to admit it as an act of lawless violence...But a few more such scenes and we shall hear the crack of the revolver and see the gleam of brandished steel.[7]

---

[6] Mrs. Roger Pryor. Reminiscences of Peace and War, 93-94.
[7] Ibid., 93-95.

[illegible] the floor of the House that "the Republicans are not [illegible] of the blood of John Brown". In the confusion which [illegible] the statement, Lawrence Keitt, member from South [illegible], declared in loud tones that "the South asks nothing [illegible]. I would have no more, but as God is my [illegible], I would shatter the Republic from turret to foundation before I would take a little less." As an answer to [illegible] Republican party, replied that,

> I do not blame gentlemen of the South for using this threat of rendering God's creation from foundation to turret. They have tried it fifty times, and fifty times they have found recreant tremblers in the North who have been affected by it, and who have [illegible] from those intimidations.[1]

[illegible] to restore a more conciliatory attitude and [illegible] antagonistic attitude toward the South on the part of the Republican leaders, and that,

> [illegible] I came here I did not believe that the slave question would come up; and but for the unfortunate affair of Brown at Harper's Ferry, I do not believe that there would have been any feelings on the subject. [illegible] men came here with kindly feelings, no man [illegible] the foray of John Brown, and every man willing to admit it as an act of lawless violence...But [illegible] more such scenes and we shall hear the crack of the revolver and see the gleam of brandished steel.[2]

[illegible]. Roger Pryor. Reminiscences of Peace and War, 93-94.
[illegible]

Inasmuch as the Congress of the United States was the scene of open contention and even more violent threats of disunion, it is not surprising that genuine apprehension for the safety of the Republic was felt by all thoughtful persons, who heard the echo of the outbursts as they rumbled far into the North and South.

During the early months of 1860, the Nation began to show intense interest in the approaching conventions which were to nominate the presidential candidates. Unfortunately, not foreseeing the rapid change of public sentiment, the Democrats had four years earlier, selected Charleston, South Carolina for the convention city. And now, after four years, on April 23, 1860, the leaders and delegates assembled in a "hot bed of disunion" and hostile hosts.

For many years, the northern Democrats had heard much of the splendor and elegance of aristocratic Charleston, and the hospitality which could ignore all animosities over the bread and salt. But, to their chagrin, Charleston turned a cold shoulder to its guests from the North. Moreover, in contrast, all hearts and homes were opened to the Southerners. They dined in the most aristocratic homes, drove with richly dressed ladies in gay equipages, and were entertained with lavish hospitality. The Northerners considered themselves openly humiliated, and this only tended to widen the already gaping breach.

Besides refusing hospitality to those who were thought

vention and even more violent threats of disunion,
not surprising that genuine apprehension for the safety
the Republic was felt by all thoughtful persons, who heard
[illegible]

During the early months of 1860, the Nation began to show
[illegible] interest in the approaching conventions which were to
[illegible] the presidential candidates. Unfortunately, not
[illegible]ing the rapid change of public sentiment, the Democrats
[illegible] years earlier, selected Charleston, South Carolina
[illegible] convention city. And now after four years on April
23, [illegible], the leaders and delegates assembled in a "hot bed
of disunion" and hostile hosts.

For many years, the northern Democrats had heard much of
the splendor and elegance of aristocratic Charleston, and the
hospitality which could ignore all animosities over the broad
Mason-Dixon. But, to their chagrin, Charleston turned a cold
shoulder to its guests from the North. Moreover, in contrast,
[illegible] the most aristocratic homes, drove with richly
[illegible] ladies in gay equipages, and were entertained with
lavish hospitality. The Northerners considered themselves
insulted, and this only tended to widen the already
[illegible].

[illegible] was returning hospitality to those who were thought

not to be in sympathy with the South, the ladies of Charleston showed their loyalty in various ways. While the delegates attended the Convention, they repaired to old St. Michael's Episcopal Church, not in the spirit of contrition, but to offer specially ordered prayers for the success and prosperity of the South.

It was evident from the very beginning that irreconcilable factions were present in the Convention. In spite of great effort on the part of the supporters, a platform of Mr. Douglas, based on popular sovereignty, was objectionable to a powerful bloc of Southerners, who desired a platform incorporating the resulutions of Jefferson Davis which declared that Congress was obligated to provide a territorial slave code. An attempt to adopt a compromise plan failed to unite the ranks and intentions of withdrawing were announced by Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, Florida, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, California, Oregon, Arkansas and Georgia. Consequently, when the platform was adopted by a vote of 165 to 138, the delegations of the above states angrily departed from the hall. Balloting now began for a candidate, but in fifty-seven votes, Douglas was unable to secure a majority equal to two-thirds of the original membership of the convention. Seeing it unlikely to reach a compromise which would satisfy the warring groups, the convention leaders proposed adjournment May 3, 1860. But, before adjourning the Convention voted to meet in Baltimore June 18, 1860. The

seceders, however, refused to accept the proposal, and resolved to meet in Richmond the second Monday in May.

This initial movement of open conflict awakened a feeling of alarm in many Southerners, who feared with Alexander Stephens that,

> The leaders intended from the beginning to rule or ruin...Envy, hate, jealousy, spite- these made war in heaven, which made devils of angels, and the same passions will make devils of men. The Secession movement is instigated by nothing but passions. Patriotism, in my opinion, has no more to do with it than the love of God had with the other revolt.[8]

On another occasion, in conversation with his friend Johnston shortly after the adjournment of the heated Convention, Stephens remarked that "men will be cutting one another's throats in a little while." Furthermore, "in less than twelve months we shall be in a war," he continued "and that the bloodiest in history. Men seem to be utterly blinded to the future."[9] In speaking in such a manner, Stephens was not only prophetic, but was expressing the sentiment of many of the leaders of the South, who not only feared, but opposed the trend toward disunion.

The Northern Democrats met in Baltimore and nominated Stephen A. Douglas after the adoption of a rule authorizing nomination by a two-third's affirmative vote of the delegates present. H. V. Johnson of Georgia became his running mate. Meanwhile, after many divisions, the remnants of the

---

[8] Ibid., 96.

[9] Ibid., 97.

[illegible], however, refused to accept the proposal, and re-[illegible] meet in Richmond the second Monday in May.

This initial movement of open conflict awakened a feeling [illegible]

> [illegible] leaders intended from the beginning to rule [illegible]...Envy, hate, jealousy, spite- these made [illegible] in heaven, which made devils of angels, and the [illegible] passions will make devils of men. The [illegible] movement is instigated by nothing but passions. [illegible]riotism, in my opinion, has no more to do with [illegible] the love of God had with the other revolt.[8]

[illegible] another occasion, in conversation with his friend [illegible] shortly after the adjournment of the heated Con-[illegible], Stephens remarked that "men will be cutting one [illegible] throats in a little while." Furthermore, "in less [illegible] twelve months we shall be in a war," he continued "and [illegible] bloodiest in history. Men seem to be utterly blin-[illegible] the future."[9] In speaking in such a manner, Stephens [illegible] only prophetic, but was expressing the sentiment of [illegible] the leaders of the South, who not only feared, but [illegible] the trend toward disunion.

[illegible] Northern Democrats met in Baltimore and nominated [illegible] A. Douglas after the adoption of a rule authorizing [illegible]tion by a two-third's affirmative vote of the dele-[illegible] present. H. V. Johnson of Georgia became his running [illegible]. Meanwhile, after many divisions, the remnants of the

---

[illegible]

[illegible]

Southern party finally united on the nomination of the "handsome knightly, Mr. Breckenridge",[10] who confided to Mrs. Davis immediately after the nomination that he trusted that he had "the courage to lead a forlorn hope."[11]

While the Democrats were breaking into hostile factions[12] the Republicans had passed over Seward, the most prominent man in the Republican party, and had nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois as presidential candidate. The platform declared for the exclusion of slavery from the territories;

---

[10]Mrs. Roger Pryor, Reminiscences, 96-97.

[11]Breckenridge, John Cabell (1821-1875) soldier, statesman, born near Lexington, Ky. His grandfather was the Attorney-General under President Jefferson. His father Joseph Cabell Breckenridge was a distinguished lawyer. After his college course at Centre College, he continued his study of law at Transylvania. Following a military experience in the War with Mexico, he was elected to Congress in 1851. Them in the election of 1852, he was chosen Vice-President of the United States. "In thinking of the men who made the South famous", wrote Louise Wigfall Wright, "the Vice-President comes to my mind with what inimitable dignity and grace as he presided as President of the Senate- even his worst enemies accorded him praise for the justice and impartiality of his ruling. He was a delightful man to know well, and I mshall never forget the charm of his conversation. His keen sense of humor, fund of anecdotes, and the fascinating cordiality of his manner made a lighter setting for the sterner qualities of his character, which came out fully when throwing his fortune with the Confederacy- he servêd in the field as Major General, and th the cabinet as Secretary of War.
Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., 685.
Louise Wigfall Wright, Southern Girl in '61, 27.

[12]Another convention was held on May 9 at Baltimore, composed of conservatives who had defeated disunion in 1850. Calling themselves "Constitutional Union" party, they nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Mass. as their candidates.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

While the Democrats were breaking into hostile factions[12] the Republicans had passed over Seward, the most prominent man in the Republican party, [illegible] Illinois as presidential candidate. The platform declared for the exclusion of slavery from the territories;

[illegible]

[illegible] Breckenridge, John Cabell (1821-1875) soldier, statesman, [illegible] Lexington, Ky. His grandfather was the Attorney-General under President Jefferson. [illegible] Breckenridge was a distinguished lawyer. After his college [illegible] at Centre College, he continued his study of law at Transylvania. Following a military [illegible] he was elected to Congress in 1851. Then in the election of 1852, he was chosen Vice-President of the United States. [illegible] Wigfall Wright, "the Vice-President comes to my [illegible] President of the Senate- even his worst enemies accorded him praise for the justice and impartiality of his ruling. He was [illegible] out fully when throwing his fortune with the Confederate- he served in the field as Major General, and in the [illegible] as Secretary of War.

[illegible] Howell Davis, op. cit., 685.

[illegible] Wigfall Wright, Southern Girl in '61, 27.

[illegible] Another convention was held on May 9 at Baltimore, composed of conservatives who had defeated disunion in 1850. [illegible] Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Mass. as [illegible]

immediate admission of Kansas; and denounced the Congressional slave code favored by the Boutherners who bolted the Democrat convention; and reaffirmed that "the Union of States must and shall be preserved."

In the meantime, Congress was still in session and the halls vibrated with the feverish condition of the nation. With each new report from the conventions, the reverberations of a constantly increasing hostile sentiment became more distinct. Each day recorded dynamic speeches; some to furnish light, but a great many only added heat to the already heavily charged atmosphere. Since the halls of Congress were the centers of all the latest news, daily large crowds thronged in and around the chambers- not only the men, but "the women thronged the galleries of the House and Senate Chamber". "From morning until the hour of adjournment," wrote one man who feared the threatening war clouds, "we would sit, spell-bound, as one after another drew the livid picture of disunion and war."[13]

A momentous day in the history of this nation was November 6,1860. For, on that day Abraham Lincoln of Illinois was elected President of the United States. The epoch making events which followed the announcement of his election were not entirely unexpected, as has been shown, but struck fear in the hearts of many Southerners, who seeing the perils ahead,

---

[13]Mrs. Roger Pryor, Reminiscences, 98.

[illegible] admission of Kansas; and denounced the Congressional [illegible] favored by the Southerners who bolted the Democrat [illegible]; and reaffirmed that "the Union of States must and [illegible] preserved."

[illegible] meantime, Congress was still in session and the halls [illegible] with the feverish condition of the nation. With each [illegible] from the conventions, the reverberations of a con- [illegible] increasing hostile sentiment became more distinct. [illegible] recorded dynamic speeches; some to furnish light, but [illegible] many only added heat to the already heavily charged [illegible]. Since the halls of Congress were the centers [illegible] the latest news, daily large crowds thronged in and [illegible] the chambers- not only the men, but "the women thronged the galleries of the House and Senate Chamber". "From morning until the hour of adjournment," wrote one man who feared the [illegible] war clouds, "we would sit, spoil-bound, as one [illegible] drew the livid picture of disunion and war."[illegible]

[illegible] ous day in the history of this nation was November [illegible]. For, on that day Abraham Lincoln of Illinois was elec- [illegible] President of the United States. The epoch making events [illegible] unexpected, as has been shown, but struck fear in [illegible] of many Southerners, who seeing the perils ahead,

---

[illegible] Roger Pryor, Reminiscences, 95.

earnestly urged moderation and delay in action. On the other hand, there were a large group of able statemen who never for a moment had seriously entertained the belief that secession would actually happen. The wife of one of the most ardent of later secessionists wrote that,

> The question of slavery in the territories was still unsettled, and that stormy scenes in the House might possibly be enacted, like General Cass, we had heard all our lives rumors of possible secession, possible war. Nobody believed these rumors- any more than we believed that every threatening cloud would burst into a devastating tempest. It was part of the routine, the "order of the day" to enliven things by warm discussions and spicy personalities.[14]

Soon after the election, the Southerners began to arrive in Washington for the opening of Congress. It was to be expected that the extreme feelings which had manifested themselves in the elections in the resepctive states were only the forerunners of more pronounced hostilities which would be felt when Congress assembled. With mingled and contrasting emotions, Southerners in Washington awaited the latest news from their home states- some with dread, others with wild enthusiasm- awaited the announcement that their state had refused to bow to a régime of "Black Republicanism".

Finally, the breath-taking news arrived. It was on the occasion of the wedding of Mr. Bouligny, a member from Louisiana, and the wealthy Miss Parker- which was to be the social

---

[14] Ibid., 107.

[illegible] urged moderation and delay in action. On the other [illegible], [illegible]e were a large group of able statemen who never for [illegible] had seriously entertained the belief that secession [illegible] happen. The wife of one of the most ardent [illegible] secessionists wrote that,

> The question of slavery in the territories was [illegible]ill unsettled, and that stormy scenes in the [illegible] might possibly be enacted, like General Cass, [illegible] had heard all our lives rumors of possible se-[illegible]ssion, possible war. Nobody believed these ru-[illegible]- any more than we believed that every threat-[illegible] cloud would burst into a devastating tempest. [illegible]s part of the routine, the "order of the day" [illegible] enliven things by warm discussions and spicy [illegible]sonalities.[1]

[illegible] the election, the Southerners began to arrive [illegible] for the opening of Congress. It was to be ex-[illegible] that the extreme feelings which had manifested themselves [illegible] elections in the resepctive states were only the fore-[illegible] Congress assembled. With mingled and contrasting emo-[illegible] [illegible]nerners in Washington awaited the latest news from [illegible]e states- some with dread, others with wild enthusi-[illegible] the announcement that their state had refused to [illegible] regime of "Black Republicanism".

[illegible]ly, the breath-taking news arrived. It was on the [illegible]on of the wedding of Mr. Bouligny, a member from Louis-[illegible], and the wealthy Miss Parker- which was to be the social

---

[1] [illegible], [illegible].

event of the pre-Christmas season. A large gathering of the most distinguished and fashionable persons had assembled to witness the ceremony. The happenings of that memorable occasion are best told by a lady who was present at the ceremony:

> Upon arriving at the house I found the President seated in an armchair, and the guests ranging themselves on either side. A crimson velvet curtain was stretched across the other end of the room. Presently the curtain parted and the bridal tableau appeared in position behind it. After the ceremony the crowd waited until the President went forward to wish the bride and her husband a "great deal of happiness", Everyone remained standing until Mr. Buchanan returned to his seat.
>
> The crowd in the Parker drawing room soon thinned as the guests found their way to the rooms in which the presents were displayed. The President kept his seat and I stood behind him as one and another came forward to greet him. Presently he looked over his shoulder and said, "Madam, do you suppose the house is on fire?" I hear an unusual commotion in the hall." "I will inquire the cause, Mr. President." I went our at the nearest door, and there in the entrance hall I found Mr. Lawrence Keitt, member from South Carolina, leaping in the air, shaking a paper over his head, and exclaiming, "Thank God!... South Carolina has seceded! Here's the telegram. I feel like a boy let out of school."
>
> I returned and beindig over Mr. Buchanan's chair, said in a low voice, "It appears, Mr. President, that South Carolina has seceded. Mr. Keitt has a telegram." He looked at me, stunned for a moment, falling back and grasping the arms of his chair, he whispered, "Madam, might I beg you to have my carriage called." There were no more thoughts of the bride, bridegroom, or wedding cake.[15]

---

[15] Ibid., 109-112.

[illegible] pre-Christmas season. A large gathering of the [illegible]ished and fashionable persons had assembled to [illegible] ceremony. The happenings of that memorable occasion [illegible] best told by a lady who was present at the ceremony:

[illegible] arriving at the house I found the President seated in an armchair, and the guests ranging themselves on either side. A crimson velvet curtain was stretched across the other end of the [illegible]. Presently the curtain parted and the bridal [illegible] appeared in position behind it. After [illegible] ceremony the crowd waited until the President [illegible] forward to wish the bride and her husband a [illegible] deal of happiness", Everyone remained [illegible] until Mr. Buchanan returned to his seat.

The crowd in the farther drawing room soon thinned [illegible] the guests found their way to the rooms in which [illegible] presents were displayed. The President kept his [illegible] forward to greet him. Presently he looked over his [illegible] and said, "Madam, do you suppose the [illegible] in the hall." "I will inquire the cause, Mr. President." I went out at the nearest door, and there in [illegible] entrance hall I found Mr. Lawrence Keitt, member [illegible] South Carolina, leaping in the air, shaking a [illegible] over his head, and exclaiming, "Thank God!... [illegible] I feel like a boy let out of school."

I returned and bending over Mr. Buchanan's chair, said in a low voice, "It appears, Mr. President, that South Carolina has seceded. Mr. Keitt has a telegram." He looked at me, stunned for a moment, falling back and grasping the arms of his chair, he whispered, "Madam, might I beg you to have my carriage [illegible] bridegroom, or wedding cake."[1]

[1] [illegible]

But, such wild joy was lacking in the hearts and conversation of several of the Representatives from South Carolina who hurriedly assembled together that evening to make plans for an immediate departure to their homes. Farewell addresses became the order of the day. Many similar meetings took place during the following weeks, when members from the other seceding states said their farewells and departed from Washington to take up their problem of building a new government in the South. In describing these scenes, one of the wives wrote that, "When the news came, I saw my husband rise slowly, then take his portfolio under his arm and leave the United States Senate in company with other no less earnest Southern Senators."[16] Another wife listened, as her husband "grave and deliberate, amid profound silence, arose to address the Senate for the last time. Every eye in the Senate was turned toward Jefferson Davis, a member who had always commanded the highest respect of that body. All listened attentively in profound silence as he spoke," with a plea for indulgence of his colleagues, whom in debate he might have offended, he offered his hand of fellowship to each of them who might accept it." He took his seat with the words, "It only remains for me to bid you a final adieu."[17]

---

[16]Virginia Clay Clopton, Belle of the Fifties, 142.

[17]Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., 697-99.

The news of the election of Lincoln[18] had reached Charleston, South Carolina, on November 7, 1860. In attempting to describe the varied emotions aroused by this message, words are found to be inadequate. There were feelings of intense excitement and joy, mingled with deep regrets and forebodings of threatening disaster in the hearts of those who had followed the course of the memorable happenings through the preceeding stormy months. And now, with the election of Lincoln the majority appeared to have concluded the time had arrived for definite action to stem the tide of "Black Republicanism" which threatened their liberty, and to accept secession with its worst realities.[19]

On December 17, 1860[20] a convention assembled at the First Baptist Church in Columbia, South Carolina to consider proposals of secession. While the delegates were considering the graveness of the situation, the secession sentiment was gaining momentum in the low counties, and "fireeaters" were becoming impatient with the leaders, who were, in their opinions, too slow and backward. A committee composed of Colonel Colcock and Judge Magrath, was sent by their fellow citizens in the low country "to hasten the slow movement of the wisdom assembled in the State Capitol". They carried the following message, "Go ahead, dissolve the Union, and be done with it, or it will be worse for you. The fire in the rear is the hottest." And,

---

[19]Mary Boykin Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, 2-4.

[20]On November 5, 1860, Governor Gist had advised the legislature to remain in session and prepare for an emergency. He advised secession, as the only alternative if Lincoln was elected. Also provisions were made for a Convention to be held Dec. 17, 1860.

[illegible] Carolina, on November 7, 1860. In attempting to [illegible] the varied emotions aroused by this message, words [illegible] to be inadequate. There were feelings of intense [illegible] and joy, mingled with deep regrets and forebodings [illegible] disaster in the hearts of those who had follow- [illegible] course of the memorable happenings through the preceed- [illegible] months. And now, with the election of Lincoln the [illegible] appeared to have concluded the time had arrived for [illegible] action to stem the tide of "Black Republicanism" [illegible] threatened their liberty, and to accept secession with [illegible] [illegible]ities.[19]

[illegible] November 17, 1860[20] a convention assembled at the First [illegible] Church in Columbia, South Carolina to consider propo- [illegible] of secession. While the delegates were considering the [illegible] of the situation, the secession sentiment was gaining [illegible] in the low countries, and "Firesaters" were becoming impatient [illegible] leaders, who were, in their opinions, too slow and [illegible]. A committee composed of Colonel Colcock and Judge [illegible], was sent by their fellow citizens in the low country "to hasten the slow movement of the wisdom assembled in the [illegible] Capitol". They carried the following message, "[illegible], dissolve the Union, and be done with it, or it will be [illegible] you. The fire in the rear is the hottest." And,

---

[illegible] Boykin Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, 2-4.

[illegible] November 5, 1860, Governor Gist had advised the leg- [illegible] to remain in session and prepare for an emergency. [illegible] secession, as the only alternative if Lincoln was [illegible]. Also provisions were made for a Convention to be held [illegible]

"yet", commented Mrs. Chestnut, "people talk of the people leading."[21]

Although the secession movement was becoming stronger with each day which brought some new crisis, yet there were many leaders who still hoped that "the black Republicans would take the alarm and submit some treaty of peace which would enable them now and forever to settle the question, and save the generation from prostration of business and the decay of prosperity which must come to both the North and the South from a disruption of the Union."

While the delegates debated the issue of secession at Columbia, an epidemic of smallpox broke out and they were forced to withdraw to Charleston. It was there, on the afternoon of December 20, 1860, the Ordinance of Secession was passed.[22] The Ordinance was not the work of only the "fire-eaters and insurgents", for, South Carolina had gathereed together her wisest and best, and "was never more splendidly represented than in the Convention.[23] In the Convention were four Senators, five

---

[21]Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., 4. Similar views to those expressed by Mrs. Chestnut were held by a great many of the prominent ladies, who were in no sense, ardent secessionists.

[22]Richmond Enquirer, December 21, 1860. "This day will be remembered by future generations of American citizens as one of the most important in the history of the country. South Carolina went out of the Union at fifteen minutes after one. The most intense excitement prevailed throughout the city as soon as it was known that the Convention had severed the connection of South Carolina with a Confederacy which had trampled on Southern rights, and had failed to give the Southern states those privileges and guarantees for which the Union had been formed. Cannons were fired, bells were rung and a general feeling of joy and gratification prevailed in all parts of the city"

[23]Mary Boykin Chestnut, op, cit., 7.

[illegible] Mrs. Chestnut, "people talk of the people lead-[illegible]."[21]

[illegible] the secession movement was becoming stronger with [illegible] which brought some new crisis, yet there were many [illegible] from prostration of business and the decay of prosper-[illegible] of the Union."

While the delegates debated the issue of secession at Colum-[illegible] of smallpox broke out and they were forced to [illegible] to Charleston. It was there, on the afternoon of De-[illegible] 20, 1860, the Ordinance of Secession was passed.[22] The [illegible] was not the work of only the "fire-eaters and insur-[illegible], South Carolina had gathered together her wisest [illegible], and "was never more splendidly represented than in [illegible]ion.[23] In the Convention were four Senators, five

---

[illegible] Chestnut, op. cit., 4. Similar views to those ex-[illegible] Mrs. Chestnut were held by a great many of the prom-[illegible], who were in no sense, ardent secessionists.

[illegible] Richmond Enquirer, December 21, 1860. "This day will be [illegible] by future generations of American citizens as one of [illegible] important in the history of the country. South Car-[illegible] went out of the Union at fifteen minutes after one. The [illegible] intense excitement prevailed throughout the city as soon [illegible] was known that the Convention had severed the connection [illegible] Carolina with a Confederacy which had trampled on [illegible] rights, and had failed to give the Southern states [illegible] privileges and guarantees for which the Union had been [illegible]. Cannons were fired, bells were rung and a general feel-[illegible] of joy and gratification prevailed in all parts of the city."

[illegible]

former governors, nine judges, eight members of the Nullification Convention of 1832, and twenty-eight members of the Convention of 1852.[24]

From the day of South Carolina's secession, the movement became a popular one, and in anticipation of future action, the "States were taking their forts and fortresses". The North greatly aroused, hoped that the southern states would not support South Carolina in the withdrawal movement. But the action of Major Anderson of the Federal Army rallied the other southern states to the aid of their sister state. He moved, on December 26, 1860, into Fort Sumter and that movement, according to the chroniclers, was sufficient to unite the South- favorite table talk was that "Anderson has opened the ball".

Close on the heels of this event, came the announcement, on January 9, 1861, that Mississippi had adopted an Ordinance of Secession. Florida quickly followed on the next day, and Alabama on the following eve. By February 1, 1861 similar action had been taken by Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas was daily expected to act.

The ordinances of secession were usually defended in official statements justifying the causes. In the first place, they were protests against the growing strength and aggressiveness of the antislavery forces, as exemplified in John Brown's raid, and the inflammatory outbursts of the Republican

---

[24] Ibid., footnote 7.

[illegible] governors, nine judges, eight members of the Nullification [illegible] of 1832, and twenty-eight members of the Con- [illegible] of 1832.[24]

[illegible] day of South Carolina's secession, the movement be- [illegible] one, and in anticipation of future action, the [illegible] taking their forts and fortresses". The North [illegible], hoped that the southern states would not sup- [illegible] Carolina in the withdrawal movement. But the ac- [illegible] Major Anderson of the Federal Army rallied the other [illegible] states to the aid of their sister state. He moved, [illegible] 26, 1860, into Fort Sumter and that movement, accor- [illegible] chroniclers, was sufficient to unite the South- [illegible] talk was that "Anderson has opened the ball".

[illegible] the heels of this event, came the announcement, [illegible] 9, 1861, that Mississippi had adopted an Ordinance [illegible] secession. Florida quickly followed on the next day, and [illegible] on the following eve. By February 1, 1861 similar [illegible] been taken by Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas was [illegible] expected to act.

[illegible] ordinances of secession were usually defended in offi- [illegible] statements justifying the causes. In the first place, [illegible] protests against the growing strength and aggress- [illegible] of the antislavery forces, as exemplified in John [illegible], and the inflammatory outbursts of the Republican

---

[24] [illegible]

leaders. In the second place, they were attempts to vindicate slavery from the charges of those who opposed it on moral and economic grounds. And, what is more important, in these official statements, the South demanded the right to live its own life in its own way, under social conditions that were satisfactory to itself.

In answer to the oft-asked question, whether secession was a movement of politicians, or of the people, the women diarists do not furnish sufficient evidence to arrive at a conclusion. They were, soon, too absorbed in the fast-moving events and the hysteria which was sweeping the country to attempt rationalization of the politics back of secession. Rather the conventions were remembered by those who attended them as great spectacles and considered them as "great and solemn occasions- that issuing of the mandate of 'Let there be another nation'".[25] However, there were others who looked on in the assemblies as fathers and brothers, bitterly opposed to the creation of another nation.[26]

For the purpose of creating an organization of the Southern States, the secession convention agreed to send delegates to an assembly at Montgomery, Alabama on February 4, 1860. The work of the Montgomery Convention is to be considered in the subsequent chapter, and this part of the story will follow the trends of the events which were taking place while the

---

[25]Mary A.H. Gay, Life in Dixie during the War, 1.

[26]Kate Cox Logan, My Confederate Girlhood, 24-25.
Mrs. John H. Moore, Memories of a Long Life in Virginia, 52

[illegible]. In the second place, they were attempts to vindi-
[illegible] history from the charges of those who opposed it on
[illegible] economic grounds. And, what is more important, in
[illegible] official statements, the South demanded the right to
[illegible] own life in its own way, under social conditions
[illegible] satisfactory to itself.

In [illegible] to the oft-asked question, whether secession was
[illegible] of politicians, or of the people, the women diar-
[illegible] furnish sufficient evidence to arrive at a conclu-
sion. They were, soon, too absorbed in the fast-moving
events [illegible] the hysteria which was sweeping the country to at-
tempt [illegible]alization of the politics back of secession. Ra-
[illegible] conventions were remembered by those who attended
[illegible] spectacles and considered them as "great and sol-
[illegible]ions- that issuing of the mandate of 'Let there be
[illegible]".[illegible]
[illegible] the assemblies as fathers and brothers, bitterly op-
[illegible] to the creation of another nation.[26]

[illegible] the purpose of creating an organization of the Southern
[illegible], [illegible] secession convention agreed to send delegates to
[illegible] at Montgomery, Alabama on February 4, 1860. The
[illegible] the Montgomery Convention is to be considered in the
[illegible]uent chapter, and this part of the story will follow
[illegible] trends of the events which were taking place while the

---

[illegible] Mary A.H. Gay, Life in Dixie during the War, 1.

[illegible] Kate Cox Logan, My Confederate Girlhood, 24-25.
[illegible] John H. Moore, Memories of a Long Life in Virginia, 52

Convention was preparing a provisional constitution for the newly created Confederacy.

During the early months of 1861, the burming question of the hour was the position of the federal forts in the states which had seceded. There was plenty of social and political conversation centered around Fort Sumter and the possibility of a release by the Federal Government. Further excitement prevailed when the Confederate Congress, in session at Montgomery announced its decision to assume all questions relating to all forts. Because of this assumption, by the central government, of powers which the individual states had expected to perform, there was evidenced on the part of the states resentment from the very beginning for interference in what they considered their sphere of control.

By appointing General Beauregard as commanding officer at Charleston harbor, Congress removed the control of the forts from South Carolina's jurisdiction to Congressional authority. General Beauregard had recently resigned his commission in the United States' Army and had been made a brigadier-general in the army of the Confederacy. Summoned to Montgomery, he accepted, on March 3, 1861, the appointment to command all the Confederate forces in and around Charleston. On arriving in Charleston, he examined the fortifications and immediately proceeded to erect new and fortify the old batteries surrounding Fort Sumter, the Federal fort which guarded the harbor.

[illegible] was preparing a provisional constitution for the [illegible] Confederacy.

[illegible] the position of the federal forts in the states [illegible] seceded. There was plenty of social and political [illegible] centered around Fort Sumter and the possibility [illegible] by the Federal Government. Further excitement [illegible] when the Confederate Congress, in session at Mont- [illegible] ounced its decision to assume all questions relating [illegible] rts. Because of this assumption, by the central [illegible] of powers which the individual states had expec- [illegible] from the very beginning for interference in what [illegible] sidered their sphere of control.

[illegible] nting General Beauregard as commanding officer at [illegible] Congress removed the control of the forts [illegible] th Carolina's jurisdiction to Congressional author- [illegible] Beauregard had recently resigned his commission [illegible] ted States' Army and had been made a brigadier-gen- [illegible] the army of the Confederacy. Summoned to Montgomery, [illegible] epted, on March 3, 1861, the appointment to command all [illegible] erate forces in and around Charleston. On arriving [illegible] ston, he examined the fortifications and immediately [illegible] Sumter, the Federal fort which guarded the harbor.

But, even in the face of these war-like preparations in and around Charleston, there still remained hope that peace could be maintained between the North and South. Within a week after the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as temporary President of the newly created Confederacy, a committee was appointed to officially represent the Confederacy in justifying the action of the seceding states to the United States' Government in Washington. On arriving at Washington, the commission was refused an audience by President Buchanan. They waited until the inaugural ceremonies of President Lincoln were over. Then, on March 12, 1860, they presented themselves to the Secretary of State, "informing him of the purpose of their arrival, and stating their desire to open negotiations for a peaceful solution of their problems".[27] The Committee was overjoyed at the cordiality of the reception extended to them by Secretary of State Seward. He gave them an unofficial promise that peace would be kept, and intimated that Fort Sumter was to be released.

In the meantime, while the Committee awaited a conciliatory move at Washington, General Beauregard discovered that Major Anderson, the commanding officer of Sumter, was endeavoring to strengthen the fort. The peace commissioners, upon the receipt of Beauregard's dispatch, again communicated with Seward, stating claims, and demanding an immediate answer. In reply

---

[27]Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., 11, 48-62.

to the commissioners, Mr. Seward acknowledged the receipt of their letter, but declined to answer it. And, on that same day, Federal ships, carrying government officials and sealed dispatches, left Washington to join with the fleet on the way to Charleston Harbor.[28]

Then, too, on April 7th, Lieutenant Talbot, an agent of the Federal Government, presented a message to Governor Pickens from President Lincoln. This message announced that the Federals would attempt to supply Fort Sumter with provisions, and "provisions only". However, there were some doubts in the Confederate minds when they learned the "Relief Squadron" consisted of eight vessels carrying twenty-six guns and about fourteen hundred men.[29]

It was this action on the part of the United States' Government, along with the fact that the Senate had adjourned without taking any action, which convinced the Southerners that the release of Fort Sumter had been only a vain hope. Furthermore, instead of the expected release, they were to see an attempt to strengthen the position of the United States Government with supplies of ammunition and men.

With each day more pressure was being brought upon the Confederate Government at Montgomery to delay no longer in the hope for peace. There were a rapidly increasing number of

---

[28]The Rebellion Record, edited by Frank Moore, 1, 49-51.

[29]Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., 11, 48-62.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

of prominent Southerners, who felt the time to act had arrived. Their opinions were expressed in a message from the Honorable Louis Wigfall, former Senator from Texas, who had been appointed to the staff of General Beauregard. In this letter written to President Davis, he wrote that no longer,

> No one doubts that Lincoln intends war. The delay on his part is only to complete his preparations. All is ready on our side. Our delay therefore is to his advantage and our disadvantage. Let us take Fort Sumter, before we have to fight both the Fleet and the Fort. General Beauregard will not act without your order to him to begin the attack as soon as he is ready. Virginia is excited by the preparations, and a bold stroke on our side will complete the purpose. Policy and prudence are urgent upon us to begin at once.[30]

At length, after General Beauregard had fully explained the situation, the Secretary of War gave the order to demand the immediate surrender of Fort Sumter. The order asking for the surrender was carried to the Federal officers by Colonel James Chestnut and Captain Lee. When Major Anderson would not capitulate, Colonel Chestnut telegraphed President

---

[30]Louise Wigfall Wright, Southern Girl in '61, 34.
Wigfall, Louis Trezevant (1816-1874) was born in South Carolina. He attended the College of South Carolina until the outbreak of the Seminole War. After the war he studied law at the University of Virginia. Upon being admitted to the bar, he moved to Marshall, Texas where he began the practice of his profession. He entered the political life, serving terms in the legislature, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1860. At once he assumed a position as an uncompromising defender of the right of secession, and was expelled when he refused to take his seat at the extra session of the 37th Congress.
Dictionary of American Biography.

[illegible] Southerners, who felt the time to act had arrived. [illegible] were expressed in a message from the Honorable [illegible]fall, former Senator from Texas, who had been appoin- [illegible] of General Beauregard. In this letter writ- [illegible] President Davis, he wrote that no longer,

> [illegible] one doubts that Lincoln intends war. The [illegible] on his part is only to complete his prep- [illegible]tions. All is ready on our side. Our delay [illegible]fore is to his advantage and our disadvan- [illegible] right both the Fleet and the Fort. General [illegible]auregard will not act without your order to him [illegible] in the attack as soon as he is ready. Vir- [illegible] is excited by the preparations, [illegible] on our side will complete the purpose. [illegible]licy and prudence are urgent upon us to begin [illegible] once.[30]

[illegible] the Secretary of War [illegible] was carried to the Federal officers by [illegible] Chestnut and Captain Lee. When Major Anderson [illegible]

[illegible] Wigfall Wright, Southern Girl in '61, 34.
[illegible] Wigfall, Louis Trezevant ([illegible]) was born in South [illegible]. He attended the College of South Carolina until the [illegible] of the Seminole War. After the war he studied law at [illegible]ersity of Virginia. Upon being admitted to the bar, he [illegible] Marshall, Texas where he began the practice of his [illegible]. He entered the political life, serving terms in the [illegible], and was elected to the United States Senate in [illegible]. [illegible] he assumed a position as an uncompromising de- [illegible] of the right of secession, and was expelled when he re- [illegible] his seat at the extra session of the 37th Congress. [illegible] Dictionary of American Biography.

Davis for further instructions- what answer to give Anderson, etc. He went back a second time with additional instructions, and "the Confederacy waited while they demanded and answered."[31]

An expectant air of excitement prevailed- an intense inner feeling with little outward expression; a letter of one of the ladies who were waiting, reveals their thoughts while listening for news or sound:

> A demand of the surrender of the Fort was made today, but the answer hasnt come. In case of Anderson's refusal, the fire of our batteries will open upon him tonight. God grant the surrender may be made before the arrival of the fleet. For, although I believe General B. is prepared on every side, yet I should feel all danger over if we had the Fort. It will be a night of intense excitement and although I cant help feeling shivery and nervous, I am not alarmed as I might be, and something tells me it wont be so bad after all.[32]

Another, the wife of the officer carrying the demand of surrender, wrote:

> If Anderson does not accept terms at four, the orders are he shall be fired upon. I count four, St. Michel's bells chime out and I begin to hope. At half-past four the heavy booming of a cannon. I sprang out of bed, and on my knees prostrate I prayed as I never prayed before...I knew my husband was rowing a boat somewhere in that dark bay, and that the shells were roofing it over, bursting toward the fort.[33]

---

[31]Mary Boykin Chestnut, op. cit., 35.

[32]Louise Wigfall Wright, op. cit., 38.

[33]Mary Boykin Chestnut, op. cit., 35-36.

[illegible]

[illegible] Confederacy waited while they demanded and answered.[31]

[illegible] air of excitement prevailed- an intense inner feeling with little outward expression; a letter of one of [illegible]

A demand of the surrender of the Fort was [illegible], but the answer hasn't come. In case of Anderson's refusal, the fire of our batteries will open upon him tonight. God grant the surrender may be made before the arrival of the fleet. For, although I believe General [illegible] danger over if we had the Fort. It will be a night of intense excitement and although I cant help feeling shivery and nervous, I am not alarmed as I might be, and something tells me it wont be so bad after all.[32]

[illegible], the wife of the officer carrying the demand of [illegible]:

If Anderson does not accept terms at four, the orders are he shall be fired upon. I count four, St. Michel's bells chime out and I begin to hope. At half-past four the heavy booming of a cannon. I sprang out of bed, and on my knees prostrate I prayed as I never prayed before...I knew my husband was rowing a boat somewhere in that dark bay, and that the shells [illegible] fort.

[illegible] Boykin Chestnut, op. cit., 35.

[32] [illegible]

[33] [illegible] Boykin Chestnut, op. cit., 35-36.

At the close of the first day's bombardment, no casualties were reported to the great relief of those waiting for news of the surrender. During the day, there were groups of anxious matrons assembled to cheer the long hours with a cup of tea, and to solace those less optimistic with their faith that there were no real causes for fear because success was assured since God was on their side- that "he must be, because of course he hated Yankees."[34]

When the Confederate batteries[35] had begun their attacks at four-thirty o'clock on the morn of April 12, 1861, the guns at Fort Sumter did not reply until about seven o'clock. From then on, there was continuous fire from both batteries throughout the day. Furthermore, to add to the general alarm created by the sound of the bombardment, the Federal fleet had arrived and lay beyond the bar at the entrance of the harbor. But, it took no part in the battle of the batteries.

On the following morning the bombardment, with increased vigor, began anew. At about eight o'clock, smoke was seen to issue from Fort Sumter. However, in spite of internal fire, her guns continued to fire but with less regularity. At half-past one o'clock, the flag of the Fort was shot from the mast.[36]

---

[34]Louise Wigfall Wright, op. cit., 38.

[35]Ruffin, Edmund (1794-1865) agriculturist and editor. As a volunteer of Palmetto Guards was permitted to fire the first shot from Morris Island against Fort Sumter.

[36]"Willie" Preston fired the shot which broke Anderson's flag-staff. Mrs. Hampton of Columbia telegraphed him 'Well done, Willie!' She is his grandmother, the widow of General Hampton of the Revolution and the mildest, sweetest, gentlest of old ladies. This shows the war spirit is waking us up. Chestnut, op. cit., 43.

[illegible] to the great relief of those waiting for news [illegible] surrender. During the day, there were groups of anx- [illegible] assembled to cheer the long hours with a cup of [illegible] solace those less optimistic with their faith that [illegible] real causes for fear because success was assured [illegible] on their side- that "he must be, because of [illegible]."[34]

[illegible] Confederate batteries[35] had begun their attacks [illegible] o'clock on the morn of April 12, 1861, the guns [illegible] did not reply until about seven o'clock. From [illegible], there was continuous fire from both batteries through- [illegible] of the bombardment, the Federal fleet had arrived [illegible] beyond the bar at the entrance of the harbor. But, [illegible] part in the battle of the batteries.

[illegible] anew. At about eight o'clock, smoke was seen to [illegible] continued to fire but with less regularity. At half- [illegible] o'clock, the flag of the Fort was shot from the mast.[36]

---

[34] [illegible]

[35] [illegible] a volunteer of Palmetto Guards was permitted to fire the first [illegible] Morris Island against Fort Sumter.

[36] "Willie" Preston fired the shot which broke Anderson's [illegible] "Willie!" She is his grandmother, the widow of General [illegible] This shows the war spirit is waking us up. [illegible], op. cit., 43.

Soon it reappeared again for a short time, but in the early afternoon the white flag of surrender was seen to wave from the Fort.[37]

From their position on Morris Island, General Wigfall and Colonel Chestnut saw the fire in the Fort, and the white flag as soon as it was hoisted. In a moment the impetuous General Wigfall, with his Handkerchief as a white flag, was on his way to doomed Sumter. Entering the Fort through a port-hole, he demanded the surrender. In the meantime, Colonel Chestnut was received at the regular entrance, but it is agreeed that the surrender was made to General Wigfall.[38]

As before stated, the Federal fleet remained outside the bar, unable to aid the weakening Fort. Luckily for the Confederates, the Fleet could not pass the bar, and "to think", wrote Mrs. Davis, "there are people who thought the Charleston bar no good". Furthermore, she continued that the Confederates cheered the gallantry of those making the defense, but hooted the Fleet as it lay an idle spectator to the attack. As an honorable testimony to the gallantry of the garrison defending the Fort, Major Anderson was allowed on leaving to salute his flag with fifty guns.[39]

---

[37] Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., 11, 78.

[38] Mary Boykin Chestnut, op. cit., 39.
Louise Wigfall Wright, op. cit., 40-60.

[39] Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., 11, 79.

[illegible] it disappeared again for a short time, but in the early [illegible] the Fort.[37]

From their position on Morris Island, General Wigfall and Colonel Chestnut saw the fire in the Fort, and the white flag [illegible] was hoisted. In a moment the impetuous General Wigfall, with his handkerchief as a white flag, was on his way to [illegible] Sumter. Entering the Fort through a port-hole, he demanded the surrender. In the meantime, Colonel Chestnut [illegible] at the regular entrance, but it is agreed that the surrender was made to General Wigfall.[38]

As before stated, the Federal fleet remained outside the bar, [illegible] to aid the weakening Fort. Luckily for the Confederates, the Fleet could not pass the bar, and "to think", wrote Mrs. Davis, "there are people who thought the Charleston [illegible] Confederates cheered the gallantry of those making the defense, [illegible] the Fleet as it lay an idle spectator to the attack. [illegible] an honorable testimony to the gallantry of the [illegible] hoisting [illegible] white flag [illegible].[39]

---

[37] Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., II, 78.

[38] Mary Boykin Chestnut, op. cit., 39.
[illegible] Wigfall Wright, op. cit., [illegible]-60.

[39] Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., II, 79.

With the fall of Sumter, the center of interest moved from South Carolina to Virginia. For, two days after the fall of Sumter, on April 15, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand troops. And, as is well known, this proclamation was answered with the secession of Virginia, followed by Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee.

While the epoch-making events were happening during the early months of 1861, the Virginia convention had been in session.[40] But, to the anxious and restless inhabitants of Richmond, the proceedings had seemed slow, undecided and uncertain. In the convention were many who opposed the disruption of the Union- a Union which the greatest of Virginia statesmen had helped to create. Throughout the state there was strong anti-secession sentiment. In discussing the conflicting beliefs which divided the state and convention, Mrs. John Moore stated that, "the whole state of Virginia was in favor of the Union

---

[40] Governor Letcher in his message to the Convention on January 7, 1861, had advocated a national convention of delegates of all states; promised Virginia's assistance if Federal Government should attempt coercion of seceding states. In response, the Virginia legislature passed a resolution inviting all states to send delegates to Washington Feb. 4, 1861 for the purpose of reuniting the Union; and a bill appropriating $1,000,000, for defense. Also, the legislature adopted a resolution which stated that in the event of failure to effect a reconstruction of the Union, that "every consideration of honor and interests demands that Virginia shall unite her destiny with the slave holding states of the South."
Drummond, The Secession Movement, 225-38.

[illegible] Carolina to Virginia. For, two days after the fall of [illegible], on April 15, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand troops. And, as is well known, this proclamation was answered with the secession of Virginia, followed by Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee.

While the epoch-making events were happening during the [illegible] of 1861, the Virginia convention had been in [illegible]. But, to the anxious and restless inhabitants of Richmond, the proceedings had seemed slow, undecided and uncertain. In the convention were many who opposed the disruption of the [illegible] create. Throughout the state there was strong anti-[illegible] [illegible] divided the state and convention, Mrs. John Moore stated that, "the whole state of Virginia was in favor of the Union

---

[illegible] Letcher in his message to the Convention on January [illegible], had advocated a national convention of delegates of all states; promised Virginia's assistance if Federal Government should attempt coercion of seceding states. In response, the Virginia Legislature passed a resolution inviting all states to send delegates to Washington Feb. 4, 1861 for the purpose of reuniting the Union; and a bill appropriating [illegible],000, [illegible] defense. Also, the legislature adopted a resolution which stated that in the event of failure to effect a reconstruction of the Union, that "every consideration of honor and [illegible] the [illegible] holding states of the South."
[illegible]

except the city of Richmond, and the Convention was almost entirely composed of Union men- in fact, there were only thirty secessionists in the Convention."[41]

A majority of the members of the Convention were the Conservatives who insisted upon the expediency of a compromise. Judge James H. Cox, temporary Chairman of the Convention, was a prominent leader of this group. He, with the other Conservatives, did not think the time had come for the South to set up ,a government of her own. They were all ardent States Rights men, but their judgment was against deciding hastily such a momentous matter.[42]

It was the action of this group, or rather lack of action, which greatly aroused the ardent secessionists. They debated long and furiously, that without the help of Virginia, the cotton states would be speedily crushed, and urged secession. But, the Conservatives held firm that fighting, as it were, the whole world meant an unequal war, followed by almost certain disaster and defeat. They were less hopeful than the lower South, in the expectation of foreign aid.[43] They plea-

---

[41]Mrs. John H. Moore. Memories of a Long Life in Virginia, 52, Mrs. Moore was the daughter of Samuel Moore and Evalina Alexander. Her family and connections were prominent in the life of Lexington. Her father was a lwayer who had been elected to Congress in 1833. The Moores were prominent in the life of Washington College and Virginia Military Institute.

[42]Kate Cox Logan. My Confederate Girlhood, 24-25. Judge Cox was a well known lawyer and judge of Chesterfield County, Virginia. His plantation was the well-known Clover Hill.

[43]The Richmond Enquirer, December 25, 1860. Declared the hope of European aid fo the South a fallacy.

[illegible] city of Richmond, and the Convention was almost entirely composed of Union men- in fact, there were only thirty [illegible]nists in the Convention."[41]

A majority of the members of the Convention were the Conservatives who insisted upon the expediency of a compromise. Judge James H. Cox, temporary Chairman of the Convention, was a prominent leader of this group. He, with the other Conservatives, did not think the time had come for the South to [illegible] government of her own. They were all ardent Statds [illegible], but their judgment was against deciding hastily [illegible].

[illegible] the action of this group or rather lack of action, [illegible] greatly aroused the ardent secessionists. They debated long and furiously, that without the help of Virginia, the [illegible] states would be speedily crushed, and urged secession. But, the Conservatives held firm that fighting, as it were, [illegible] world meant an unequal war, followed by almost certain disaster and defeat. They were less hopeful than the [illegible] South, in the expectation of foreign aid.[43] They plea-

---

[41] Mrs. John H. Moore. Memories of a Long Life in Virginia, [illegible]. Mrs. Moore was the daughter of Samuel Moore and Evalina [illegible]. Her family and connections were prominent in the [illegible] of Lexington. Her father was a lawyer who had been elected to Congress in 1[illegible]. The Moores were prominent in the life of Lexington College and Virginia Military Institute.

[42] Late Cox Logan. My Confederate Girlhood, [illegible]. Judge [illegible] was a well known lawyer and judge of Chesterfield County, Virginia. His plantation was the well-known Clover [illegible].

[43] [illegible] Richmond Enquirer, December 28, 1[illegible]. Declared the [illegible] European aid to the South a fallacy.

ded that the South was unprepared, that she had neither army nor navy with which to defend her position at home nor abroad, and that all chances of success in such an unequal contest were against the South. However, in spite of the strength of the Conservatives, the Secessionists felt certain that in the case of actual hostilities that Virginia would unite with the seceding states. For, the Conservatives had proposed that Virginia should wait until Lincoln committed some "over act of enmity" which would justify them before the world the proposed secession.

In describing some of the scenes and spasms of the Convention, one of the young ladies who crowded the balcony of the Music Hall where the Convention was meeting wrote:

> Poor old Virginia! she the mother was now called upon to say whether she would remain in the Union or go out with the children. My father (Judge Cox) was chosen temporary chairman of the Secession Convention. I went with him to Richmond to attend the meeting. It is needless to say that there was much emotion as well as commotion in that body of men. I remember the fiery speeches of Hon. Henry A. Wise. My father did all he could to placate honorably the boiling spirit of his countrymen.[44]

Another Conservative John Janney, "a tall, thin old man with snowy hair and beard, fearless and determined" was chosen permanent chairman. At times, it was impossible to maintain order among the members as heated debates convulsed

---

[44] Ibid., 25.

the Convention. One of the scenes which followed the speeches of the commissioners sent from South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia to urge secession was described by another young lady who witnessed it. There was great interest in the speakers, especially John Preston of South Carolina, a remarkably handsome man and eloquent talker "who arrived at the Convention accompanied by his two daughters who had been educated in Paris. He eloquently addressed the assembly and was followed with earnest appeals from Judge Benning of Georgia and Mr. Anderson of Alabama. To resist the wave of secession enthusiasm which followed these speeches, Samuel McDowell Moore of Lexington made a great speech opposing secession but was hissed and yelled down by the galleries. Following the stormy day, the excitement continued and a mob paraded the streets of Richmond, threatening to burn in effigy Mr. Moore and Chairman Janney. The crowd went to the Governor's Mansion where they were quieted by Governor Letcher and Jenning Wise."[45]

When, on April 5 the Convention again rejected secession, the "fire-eaters" saw that an "act of enmity" would be necessary to change the decision. Consequently they were more than anxious for an initial blow to be struck at Sumter. It was to that end, that the Honorable Roger A. Pryor had gone to Charleston. On April 12 he delivered an impassioned speech,

---

[45]Mrs. Moore, op. cit., 52-55.

urging the Confederates to attack, and assuring them in case of conflict that Virginia would secede "within an hour by Shrewsbury clock".[46]

There is no doubt that the attitude of the Federal Government toward the peace commissioners, and the action toward Sumter was gradually weakening the loyalty of the Unionists. Still, in spite of the increasing numbers in their ranks, the secessionists were met, frequently, with angry defiances. When a Presbyterian clergyman had ventured a hint in a morning service that Virginia might need her sons for defense, a gray-haired elder left the church, and turning at the door shouted "Traitor!"[47]

It was on the afternoon of April 14, 1861 that the news of the surrender of Fort Sumter reached Richmond. In view of the fact that a strong secessionist spirit dominated the crowds at Richmond, the announcement was received with the wildest demonstrations of delight and confusion. The roar of a hundred guns (was) heard, bonfires were kindled, and rockets were sent up to announce to the surrounding country the momentous news. Throughout the night the bells of the city rang, cannons boomed, and the strains of Dixie Land could be heard over the seven hills of Richmond.

---

[46]The Charleston Mercury, April 12, 1861.

[47]Mrs. Roger Pryor, Reminiscences, 126.

[illegible] Confederates to attack, and assuring them in case [illegible]

[illegible] is no doubt that the attitude of the Federal Government [illegible] peace commissioners, and the action toward [illegible] was gradually weakening the loyalty of the Unionists. [illegible], in spite of the increasing numbers in their ranks, [illegible] sionists were met, frequently, with angry defiances. [illegible] Presbyterian clergyman had ventured a hint in a morning [illegible] that Virginia might need her sons for defence, a [illegible] elder left the church, and turning at the door [illegible]

It was on the afternoon of April 14, 1861 that the news [illegible] of Fort Sumter reached Richmond. In view [illegible] Richmond, the announcement was received with the [illegible] demonstrations of delight and confusion. The roar [illegible] guns (was) heard, bonfires were kindled, and [illegible] sent up to announce to the surrounding country [illegible] news. Throughout the night the bells of the [illegible], cannons boomed, and the strains of Dixie [illegible] over the seven hills of Richmond.

[illegible] Charleston Mercury, April 12, 1861.

[illegible] Roger Pryor, Reminiscences, 12[illegible].

Meanwhile, the Convention was sitting behind closed doors. There was anxiety in the hearts of the ardent secessionists, lest the conservative spirit of the older men should again triumph. Their feelings were strained to the highest pitch because they were fully convinced that further submission would mean dishonor, which was infinitely worse than the possibility of death in secession.

Then, two days later, a group calling themselves The Spontaneous People's Convention met in the Metropolitan Hall. They chose David Chalmers of Halifax County as President. In order to calm the intense feelings of the group, Patrick Henry Aylett, grandson of Patrick Henry, made a noble speech urging moderation and delay, but the passions of this assembly were too overwrought to listen to reasons why action should be further delayed. Even before the Ordinance of Secession was passed, the flag of the Confederacy was raised on the Capitol amid the shouts of applause. And, many considered it a personal affront when it was removed by the order of Governor Letcher.[48]

On that memorable day, April 17, 1861, while the Spontaneous Convention was discussing the possibility of a new poli-

---

[48]Mrs. Roger Pryor, Reminiscences, 122.

rical organization for the state, Lieutenant-Governor Montagu entered the hall to announce that an Ordinance of Secession had just been passed by the Convention.[49]

The fate of Virginia had been decided on April 15, 1861, when President Lincoln had called for seventy-five thousand troops to "quell the rebellion".[50] This act of Lincoln was considered to be the "overact of anmity" that the Conservatives had believed necessary before an Ordinance of Secession should be passed. And, now that it had come, many of the Conservatives signed the Ordinance of Secession "with their hearts full of dreary forebodings".[51]

The numerous celebrations which followed the announcement of secession reached their climax in the torch-light procession which was held on the evening of April 19, 1861. The illumination was universal, the favorite form being the "Cross of the South". Even in the humble homes, a single candle in the window announced to the world that there was cause to rejoice. It seemed that all love for the Union and the nation's flag had been exhausted.[52]

---

[49] Ibid., 123.

[50] The point was that Virginia would never consent to fight against the South, and no Virginia militia would be furnished to the Federal troops to be used in the subjugation of the Confederacy.
Greely, American Conflict, 1, 459.

[51] Kate Cox Logan, op. cit., 25.

[52] Mrs. Sallie Brock Putnam, Richmond during the War, 20.

[illegible] organization for the state, Lieutenant-Governor Montague [illegible] to announce that an Ordinance of Secession [illegible] been passed by the Convention.[49]

[illegible] Virginia had been decided on April 15, 1861, [illegible] President Lincoln had called for seventy-five thousand [illegible] "quell the rebellion".[50] This act of Lincoln was [illegible] to be the "overact of annity" that the Conservatives [illegible] believed necessary before an Ordinance of Secession [illegible] passed. And, now that it had come, many of the Conservatives signed the Ordinance of Secession "with their [illegible] dreary forebodings".[51]

[illegible] celebrations which followed the announcement [illegible] reached their climax in the torch-light procession [illegible] held on the evening of April 19, 1861. The illumination was universal, the favorite form being the "Cross of the [illegible]". Even in the humble homes, a single candle in [illegible] announced to the world that there was cause to rejoice. It seemed that all love for the Union and the nation's [illegible] had been exhausted.[52]

---

[49] [illegible]

[illegible] South, and no Virginia militia would be furnished [illegible] General troops to be used in the subjugation of the [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] Cox Logan, op. cit., 25.

[illegible] Sallie Brock Putnam, Richmond during the War, 20.

On this occasion one of the orators of the evening was General Matt Ransome of North Carolina.[53] He came, he said, "to bring news of the old North State which was ready to follow the example of the Old Dominion, and had already secured every fort belonging to her territory, with seventy-five thousand of arms,- thus pledging herself to the cause of the South, and giving one more state to the Confederacy." This speech called forth the wildest of acclamations and demonstrations from the crowds.[54]

If there were many citizens at Richmond who had not already been aroused to a feeling of loyalty to Virginia and the Confederacy, they would have been won over by the impassioned speeches and enthusiasms which swept reason aside. As the fervor of the crowd rose higher and higher, one of the speakers dramatically described the resistance in Baltimore, and the bloody riots which occurred as Federal troops marched through the city. Soon there were predictions that within sixty days the flag of the Confederacy would be flying over the White House! (enthusiastic cheers from the drowd)- Yes, probably in thirty days![55]

---

[54]Mrs. Sallie Putnam, op. cit., 20-22.

[55]Ibid., 22.

[illegible] occasion one of the orators of the evening was [illegible] of the old North State which was ready to fol- [illegible] belonging to her territory, with seventy-five [illegible] arms,- thus pledging herself to the cause of the [illegible] one more state to the Confederacy." This [illegible] called forth the wildest of acclamations and demon- [illegible].

If [illegible] were many citizens at Richmond who had not already [illegible] to a feeling of loyalty to Virginia and the Con- [illegible], they would have been won over by the impassioned [illegible] and enthusiasms which swept reason aside. As the fer- [illegible] the crowd rose higher and higher, one of the speakers [illegible]. Soon there were predictions that within sixty days [illegible] the Confederacy would be flying over the White [illegible] cheers from the crowd)- Yes, probably [illegible]!

[illegible]. Sallie Putnam, op. cit., 20-22.

[illegible]

Chapter 3

The Organization of the Confederacy

The delegates of the seceding states were welcomed at Montgomery, Alabama. At that time, Montgomery was a "gay and handsome town of some eight thousand inhabitants." The delegates arrived early in order to make the necessary preliminary preparations before the opening of the Convention on February 4, 1861. Montgomery was dominated by the Capitol of the State of Alabama. This building was to be the temporary Capitol of the Confederacy. It was perched high on the hill, overlooking the town, and "although not particularly imposing was large enough to command the center of the picture". Within a month after Congress had convened, the staff upon its dome carried the new flag of the new nation. The flag, which had been designed by a committee appointed by Congress, with Porcher Miles of South Carolina, "one of the brainiest of the younger statesmen of the South"

as the chairman[1] was hoisted by Miss Letitia Tyler, the granddaughter of ex-president Tyler. Among those who objected to the new flag was Jefferson Davis who was "averse to relinquishing the old flag, and insisted that a different battle-flag would make distinction enough among the combatants."[2] However, his suggestion was overruled and a new

---

[1]A flag made by several young ladies of South Carolina was presented to Congress. This flag had the design of a blue cross on a red field with seven stars- six for the states represented in Congress and another for Texas which they were hoping would join the South. Another commission "from a gentleman of taste and skill in the City of Charleston," proposed one with the whole fifteen states. A committee composed of Porcher Miles, Shorter of Alabama, Morton of Florida, Barton of Georgia, Sparrow of Louisiana, Harris of Mississippi, proposed the design which was adopted.

The flag of the Confederacy was sometimes called the "Stars and Bars". It was first provided that the flag should consist of a red field with a white space extending horizontally through the center, and equal in width to one-third the width of the flag. The union was a blue square extending across the upper red and white stripe, in which the stars representing the States were arranged in a circle, each star standing for a state. Later a white flag with one blue star in the center was adopted. Battle flags were also adopted and used by some of the corps. In 1863, the Congress of the Confederate States passed the following act:"That the flag of the Confederate States shall be as follows: The field to be white, the length double the width of the flag, with the union (now used as a battle flag) to be a square of two-thirds the width of the flag, having the ground red, thereon a broad saltier of blue, bordered with white, and emblazoned with mullets or five-pointed stars, corresponding in number to that of the Confederate States."

Rebellion Record, 1860-1861, 1, 30; Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, 1, index, 597-598.

[2]Varina Howell Davis, Jefferson Davis, 11, 36.

Varina Howell Davis, Jefferson Davis, II, 7n.

flag adopted.

With the opening of the Convention, Montgomery literally swarmed with the delegates and the ardent followers of the Secession Movement. There were the statesmen, lawyers, congressmen, planters, and the many merchants who "pressed forward ardently to fulfill their part in the struggle." Among the notables present were the Honorable William C. Rives of Virginia, Pierce Butler, T. Butler King, William Yancey, James M. Mason, R. M. T. Hunter, John S. Preston of Virginia, William Preston of Kentucky, F. S. Barstow of Georgia, J. P. Mallory, Barnwell Rhett, Robert Toombs, Howell Cobb of Georgia, James Chestnut, Jr., Robert Barnwell, Benjamin Hill, and Governor Moore. The outside world was represented by Dr. William Howard Russell, the correspondent of the London Times, who was present to report the proceedings. In speaking of his presence in the South, a prominent lady remarked that "good stories there may be and to spare, for Russell who has come over to find out our weakness and our strength and to tell all of the rest of the world about us."[3]

When the delegates assembled on February 4, 1861 they elected Howell Cobb of Georgia Chairman of the Con-

---

[3]Mary B. Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, 41.

[illegible]

[illegible] the delegates and the ardent followers of the [illegible]ment. There were the statesmen, lawyers, con- [illegible] [illegible]les present were the Honorable William C. Rives of [illegible] Butler, T. Butler King, William Yancey, [illegible], R. M. T. Hunter, John S. Preston of Virginia, [illegible] Barnwell Rhett, Robert Toombs, Howell Cobb of [illegible] James Chestnut, Jr., Robert Barnwell, Benjamin Hill, [illegible] Howard Russell, the correspondent of the London [illegible], who was present to report the proceedings. In [illegible] of his presence in the South, a prominent lady re- [illegible] that "good stories there may be and to spare, for [illegible] has come over to find out our weakness and our [illegible] and to tell all of the rest of the world about us."[5]

[illegible] the delegates assembled on February 4, 1861 they [illegible] Howell Cobb of Georgia Chairman of the Con-

---

[illegible] Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, 41.

vention[4]. After completing the organization, the Assembly began the making of a constitution for the new Confederacy which was to be formed by the six states which had withdrawn from the Union. The new government was to be called "The Confederate States of America". On the evening of February 8, the Convention unanimously agreed to the constitution and the provisional government recommended by the committees. The articles were to go into effect upon adoption and were to continue for one year unless superseded by a permanent organization. The document was modelled on the Constitution of the United States.[5]

---

[4]Cobb, Howell, (1815-1868) senator, was the son of John A. and Sarah Cobb. His father was an extensive planter in Jefferson County, in the cotton belt of middle Georgia. Howell Cobb was born into a family, which by reason of its wealth, social prestige and the ability of its members, occupied a secure position in the small group which dominated the political life in the South throughout the ante-bellum period. His family and those of his kinspeople, the Jacksons, the Lamars, and others were surrounded by long traditions of public service. His early marriage (1834) immediately after his graduation from the University of Georgia, to Mary Ann Lamar, daughter of another wealthy planter, materially strengthened his resources. Thus, leisure and comparative freedom from financial worries enabled him to devote his life to public affairs. He was in Congress 1842-1857; and Secretary of the Treasury in Buchanan's Cabinet.

After the election of Lincoln, Cobb in a letter to the people of Georgia advocated immediate secession, and became an ardent supporter of secession in the campaign just preceding the secession convention.

Dictionary of American Biography, iv, 240-243.

[5]Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., 12-14.

[illegible]. After completing the organization, the Assembly [illegible] making of a constitution for the new Confederacy [illegible] was to be formed by the six states which had with- [illegible] Union. The new government was to be called [illegible] States of America". On the evening of Feb- [illegible], the Convention unanimously agreed to the constitu- [illegible] the provisional government recommended by the com- [illegible]. The articles were to [illegible] to continue for one year unless superseded by a [illegible] organization. The document was modelled on the [illegible] of the United States.[5]

[illegible]. Howell, (1815-1868) senator, was the son of John A. [illegible] Cobb. His father was an extensive planter in Jef- [illegible] County, in the cotton belt of middle Georgia. Howell [illegible] prestige and the ability of its members, occupied a [illegible] position in the small group which dominated the poli- [illegible] life in the South throughout the ante-bellum period. [illegible] and those of his kinspeople, the Jacksons, the La- [illegible], and others were surrounded by long traditions of public [illegible]. His early marriage (1834) immediately after his [illegible] from the University of Georgia, to Mary Ann Lamar, [illegible]. Thus, leisure and comparative freedom from [illegible] worries enabled him to devote his life to public [illegible]. He was in Congress 1842-1857; and Secretary of the [illegible].

[illegible] the election of Lincoln, Cobb in a letter to the [illegible] Georgia advocated immediate secession, and became an [illegible] supporter of secession in the campaign just preceding [illegible] secession convention.

[illegible] of American Biography, iv, 240-245.

[illegible] Howell Davis, op. cit., 12-14.

The new constitution of the Confederate States of America substituted for "We, the people of the United States," etc., the following: "We the deputies of the sovereign and independent States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana...do hereby, in behalf of these States, ordain and establish this constitution". Another change was to bring the heads of the departments in direct personal relations with Congress, by giving them a seat upon the floor of the House, with the privilege of discussing measures appertaining to their department.

The tariff had been an issue between the North and the South for over thirty years. In the new constitution the Confederacy settled this troublesome question for themselves. All protective tariffs were prohibited and all duties, imports and excises were to be uniform throughout the Confederacy. No aid from the central government for internal improvements was to be granted. In order to curb graft, an attempt was made to place checks in all appropriations bills.

The President, when elected, was to be given more constitutional power than the President of the United States. His term was for six years, but he could not be re-elected.

As to the slave question, the legality of the institution was recognized, but the trade was prohibited.

In speaking of the Constitution, one of the ladies declared that the Southerners were pleased with the excellency of the

[illegible] constitution of the Confederate States of America [illegible], the people of the United States," etc., [illegible]: "We the deputies of the sovereign and inde- [illegible] States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, [illegible] and Louisiana...do hereby, in behalf of these [illegible] and establish this constitution". Another [illegible] to bring the heads of the departments in direct [illegible] relations with Congress, by giving them a seat upon [illegible] of the House, with the privilege of discussing [illegible] pertaining to their department.

[illegible] had been an issue between the North and the [illegible] over thirty years. In the new constitution the [illegible] protective tariffs were prohibited and all duties, im- [illegible] and excises were to be uniform throughout the Confed- [illegible]. No aid from the central government for internal im- [illegible] was to be granted. In order to curb graft, an [illegible] was made to place checks in all appropriations [illegible].

[illegible] President, when elected, was to be given more consti- [illegible] power than the President of the United States. His [illegible] six years, but he could not be re-elected.

[illegible] the slave question, the legality of the institution [illegible] recognized, but the trade was prohibited.

[illegible] of the Constitution, one of the ladies declared [illegible] Southerners were pleased with the excellency of the

document. "The Southerners", she wrote, "felt that guided by experience, some stronger and more explicit clauses were interpolated" than were in the Constitution of the United States, and that the Conservative Jefferson Davis regarded it as a "model of wise, temperate, and liberal statesmanship."[6]

The election of the chief executive officers was held on February 9. From the opening of the Convention there had been some very heated discussions centered around the possible presidential candidates. A considerable number had favored Howell Cobb, the Chairman, for the office. The reluctance of this group to compromise probably cost Robert Toombs, also of Georgia, the election, for he lost by a single vote and a united Georgia delegation would certainly have strengthened his position. A group of ardent Secessionists loudly clamored for the nomination of the well-known "fire-eater" Barnwell Rhett of Charleston Mercury fame.[7] Finally, however, seeing their cause hopeless and influenced by the saneness of Robert Barnwell, they reluctantly gave their support to Jefferson Davis of Mississippi- they considered him too lukewarm, and scoffed at the tears he was said to

---

[6]Ibid., 15.

[7]Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., ,6; 104. Barnwell Rhett, editor of the Charleston Mercury, had "howled nullification and secession so long that men found his ideas taken up by the Confederate world, he felt he had a vested right to leadership".

have shed on leaving the Senate of the United States. Another blow to the fire-eaters was the election of Alexander Stephens of Georgia as Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy.[8]

When notified of his election, Mr. Davis was at Brierfield, his plantation in Mississippi. He was, according to his wife, busy in his garden working with his roses, and

---

[8]Stephens, Alexander H. (1812-1883), congressman, was born in Wilkes County, Georgia. Known to his constituents as "Little Ellick", he was of average stature, but seldom if ever attained a hundred pounds. A shrill voice, a sallow complexion, recurrent illness, and occasional melencholia gave evidence of organic defects; but his mind was not morbid and his will was robust. Born in a family of small means and orphaned in early youth, Alexander had little time for study until in early teens. He attended an academy in Washington, Georgia and the University of Georgia. He graduated in 1834 and decided in favor of law as a career instead of the ministry. Entering Congress in 1843 he remained there until 1859. He emerged from his retirement at "Liberty Hall" to endorse P.M.T. Hunter as Democratic presidential candidate in 1860. When the party split he clung to Douglas and took the stump to carry Georgia for the ticket.

When the Georgia Legislature met in the middle of January 1861, they proposed a resolution substituting for the pending ordinance of secession a request that a Southern convention to consider the state of affairs be called. But, when the Convention rejected this resolution and adopted the Ordinance, Stephens signed the document without further demur.

R. M. Johnston and W. H. Browne, Life of Alexander H. Stephens.

[illegible] on leaving the Senate of the United States. [illegible] to the life-caters was the election of Alexander [illegible] of Georgia as Vice-President of the Southern Con-[illegible].

[illegible] busy in his garden working with his roses, and

[illegible] in Wilkes County, Georgia. Known to his constituents as "Little Ellick", he was of average stature, but seldom [illegible] attained a hundred pounds. A shrill voice, a sallow [illegible], recurrent illness, and occasional melancholia [illegible] of organic defects; but his mind was not [illegible] will was robust. Born in a family of small [illegible] orphaned in early youth, Alexander had little [illegible] study until in early teens. He attended an acad[illegible] in [illegible], Georgia and the University of Georgia. He [illegible] in 1834 and decided in favor of law as a career [illegible] of the ministry. Entering Congress in 1843 he [illegible] there until 1859. He emerged from his retirement [illegible] "Liberty Hall" to endorse F.M.C. Hunter as Democratic [illegible] candidate in 1860. When the party split he [illegible] Douglas and took the stump to carry Georgia for [illegible].

[illegible] Georgia legislature met in the middle of Jan-[illegible], they proposed a resolution substituting for the [illegible] of secession a request that a Southern [illegible] to consider the state of affairs be called. But, [illegible] Convention rejected this resolution and adopted [illegible], Stephens signed the document without fur-[illegible].

[illegible] Johnston and W. H. Browne, Life of Alexander [illegible].

mending fences. As he read the telegram, "he looked so grieved that I feared some evil had befallen the family". It was not until some minutes afterwards that he told his wife the message in the same manner "as a man might speak of a sentence of death... for he neither desired nor expected the position". However, on the following day, after an affectionate farewell to his family and his slaves, he set out for Montgomery.[9]

There seems to be a note of real sincerity in his protestations against civil appointment. For, according to his wife, he wished to command the regiments of Mississippi. In support of his belief that he was better fitted for a military career, he expressed a hope that the duties of the presidency were only temporary, and that soon he would be free to return to the army of Mississippi.[10]

From the very beginning of the secession movement, Davis had believed that war was inevitable, and that it was to be a long and bloody affair. He sounded a warning note to the crowds which greeted him on his way to Montgomery. In his speeches he urged serious reflection and preparation for the threatening crisis.

---

[9]Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., 11, 17.

[10]Ibid., 17-25.

[illegible]. As he read the telegram, "he looked so [illegible] that I feared some evil had befallen the family". [illegible] wife the message in the same manner "as a man might speak of a [illegible] of death... for he neither desired nor expected the position". However, on the following day, after an affectionate farewell to his family and his slaves, he set out for Montgomery.[9]

[illegible] seems to be a note of real sincerity in his pro-[illegible] against civil appointment. For, according to [illegible], he wished to command the regiments of Mississippi. [illegible] military career, he expressed a hope that the duties of the [illegible] only temporary, and that soon he would be [illegible] to the army of Mississippi.[10]

[illegible] the very beginning of the secession movement, Davis [illegible] that war was inevitable, and that it was to [illegible] and bloody affair. He sounded a warning note to [illegible] he urged serious reflection and preparation [illegible].

[illegible]ina Howell Davis, op. cit., II, 17.

[illegible], 17-20.

On his arrival at Montgomery, as President-elect, Davis was welcomed by great throngs which had assembled from all parts of the South. He assumed the office of the President of the Confederate States on February 18, 1861. In a letter to his wife he described the occasion:

> I was inaugurated on Monday, having reached here on Saturday night. The audience was large and brilliant. Upon my weary heart were showered smiles, plaudits, and flowers; but beyond them I saw troubles and thorns innumerable.
>
> We are without machinery, without means, and threatened by a powerful opposition; but I do not despond, and will not shrink from the task imposed upon me.
>
> Along all the route, except Tennessee the people at every station manifested good will and approbation, by bon-fires at night, firing at day, and shouts and salutations.[11]

The inaugural address was a reaffirmation of the sovereign rights of the states; a justification of secession on the grounds of necessity resulting from northern aggression; and expression of the desire for a peaceful acceptance of separate political careers, "but if the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us to appeal to arms and invoke the blessing of Providence on a just cause... Obstacles may retard, but they cannot long prevent the progress of a movement sanctioned by its

---

[11] Ibid., 20-21.

[illegible] arrival at Montgomery, as President-elect, Davis [illegible] by great throngs which had assembled from all [illegible] [illegible] Confederate States on February 18, 1861. In a let- [illegible]:

> I was inaugurated on Monday, having reached here on Saturday night. The audience was large and brilliant. Upon my weary heart were showered smiles, plaudits, and flowers; but beyond them I saw troubles and thorns innumerable.
>
> We are without machinery, without [illegible], and threatened by a powerful opposition; but I do not despond, and will not shrink from the task imposed upon me.
>
> Along all the route, except Tennessee the people at every station manifested good will and approbation, by bon-fires at night, firing at day, and shouts and salutations.[11]

[illegible] of the states; a justification of secession on [illegible] of necessity resulting from northern aggression; [illegible] of the desire for a peaceful acceptance of [illegible] and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain [illegible] appeal to arms and invoke the blessing of Providence [illegible] use... Obstacles may retard, but they can [illegible] the progress of a movement sanctioned by [illegible]

[illegible]

justice and sustained by a virtuous people."

In contrast to the wild enthusiasm and outbursts of the crowds, the spirit of the leaders was sober and anxious, as can be seen in the letter and inaugural address of President Davis. The tone of the Convemtion and of the new Confederacy was moderately conservative. At times it was so noticeable that rumors were abroad that the Southerners "have no joy in this thing and no pride in their actions." On the occasion of the raising of the Confederate flag, there were complaints at the deadness of the crowds. In answer to such criticisms, a Captain Ingraham remarked that "this is a thoughtful crowd, the true mob element with us just now is hoeing corn."[13]

Furthermore, even after the organization of the Confederacy, the earnestness of the movement was questioned in the North and Virginia. There were those who thought the seceding states were only "sulking and that Jeff Davis and Stephens were getting up a pretty little comedy". And, as a reason for even more surprise, there were present at Montgomery persons who said aloud that the "war talk is nothing. It will soon blow over, it's only a fuss gotten up by that Charleston clique." But, in order to silence

---

[13]Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., 14.

[illegible] and sustained by a virtuous people."

[illegible] to the wild enthusiasm and outbursts of the [illegible], the spirit of the leaders was sober and anxious, [illegible] was moderately conservative. At times it was so [illegible]ble that rumors were abroad that the Southerners "[illegible] no joy in this thing and no pride in their actions." [illegible] occasion of the raising of the Confederate flag, [illegible] complaints at the deadness of the crowds. In [illegible] such criticisms, a Captain Ingraham remarked that [illegible] is a thoughtful crowd, the true mob element with us [illegible].[17]

[illegible]rmore, even after the organization of the Confe-[illegible], the earnestness of the movement was questioned in [illegible] and Virginia. There were those who thought the [illegible] states were only "sulking and that Jeff Davis and [illegible] were getting up a pretty little comedy". And, [illegible]. It will soon blow over, it's only a fuss gotten [illegible] that Charleston clique." But, in order to silence

---

[illegible]ry B. Chestnut, op. cit., 14.

such comments, "Mr. Toombs asked him to show his passports, for such language is of suspicious character."[14]

In selecting his Cabinet, Mr. Davis chose those preferred by the state they represented. According to his own statement he was,

> Unencumbered by any other consideration than the public welfare, having no friends to reward nor enemies to puhish, it resulting that not one of those who formed my first cabinet had borne to me that relation of personal friendship, or had political charms on me; indeed with two of them I had no previous acquaintance.[15]

As Secretary of State, President Davis appointed Robert Toombs of Georgia.[16] According to Varina Howell Davis in

---

[14] Ibid., 10-11; 20.

[15] Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., 23-32.

[16] Toombs, Robert Augustus, (1810-1885), senator, confederate Secretary of State, was a "talented, fortright and high minded public servant". He was the son of Robert Toombs a well-to-do cotton planter of Georgia, who had been a major in the Revolution. Young Toombs attended the University of Georgia; but withdrew in sequel to an escapade and graduated from Union College, New York in 1828. He was admitted to the bar in 1830. He invested part of his accumulating wealth in a plantation and a corps of slaves in southwestern Georgia, but his home was in Washington, Georgia. Entering the United States Senate in 1853, he served until 1861, where he was a pronounced advocate of the sovereignty of the States, the extension of slavery and secession. He was a member of the Confederate Congress, and, by a single vote failed of election as President.
Dictionary of American Biography.

[illegible], "Mr. Toombs asked him to show his passports. [illegible] language is of suspicious character."[14]

In [illegible]ecting his Cabinet, Mr. Davis chose those preferred [illegible] state they represented. According to his own state-[illegible]

> Unencumbered by any other consideration than the public welfare, having no friends to reward nor enemies to punish, it resulting that not one of those who formed my first cabinet had borne to me that relation of personal friendship, or had political charms on me; indeed with too of them I had no previous acquaintance.[15]

[illegible] Secretary of State, President Davis appointed Robert [illegible] of Georgia.[16] According to Varina Howell Davis in

---

[illegible]

[illegible] Howell Davis, op. cit., 2[illegible].

[illegible]mbs, Robert Augustus, (1810-1885), senator, confederate Secretary of State, was a "talented, fortright and [illegible] public servant". He was the son of Robert Toombs a [illegible]-do cotton planter of Georgia, who had been a major [illegible]olution. Young Toombs attended the University of [illegible]; [illegible] withdrew in sequel to an escapade and graduated [illegible] College, New York in 1828. He was admitted to [illegible] in 1830. He invested part of his accumulating [illegible] in a plantation and a corps of slaves in southwestern [illegible], but his home was in Washington, Georgia. Entering [illegible] States Senate in 1853, he served until 1861, [illegible] was a pronounced advocate of the sovereignty of the [illegible], the extension of slavery and secession. He was a [illegible] of the Confederate Congress, and, by a single vote [illegible] of election as President.

[illegible]onary of American Biography.

her Jefferson Davis, the President had hoped to appoint Robert Barnwell[17] of South Carolina to this office, but Mr. Memminger, another delegate from that state was pressed for the Secretary of Treasury, consequently, Mr. Barnwell could not accept the portfolio of State. Furthermore, in the original plans, Toombs had been slated for the important position of Secretary of the Treasury, but when the South Carolina delegation desired the appointment of Mr. Memminger to that position, the Secretary of State was given to Mr. Toombs.[18] Because of ill health, Clement C. Clay was forced to decline the Secretaryship of the War Department, and recommended for the post a fellow-townsman, Leroy P. Walker a "legal and political opponent".[20] This appointment aroused considerable comment and criticisms, because there was strong feeling that an able man should be chosen for that Department in light of the threatening war. As Secretary of Navy, Davis chose S.R. Mallory of Florida; J. H. Reagan of Texas as Post-Master General, and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana as Attorney-General.

---

[17]Barnwell, Robert W. Graduate of Harvard, twice member of Congress, and afterwards United States Senator. In 1860, after the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, he was one of the commissioners who went to Washington to treat with the Federal Government for the property within South Carolina. He cast the deciding vote in the election of Davis. In speaking of him, "We South Carolinians" wrote Mrs. Chestnut, "revere his goodness above all things."

[18]Virginia Clay Clopton, A Belle of the Fifties, 157.

[20]Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., 9-12.

[illegible] Davis, the President had hoped to appoint [illegible] Barnwell[17] of South Carolina to this office, but [illegible], another delegate from that state was pressed [illegible] Secretary of Treasury, consequently Mr. Barnwell [illegible] accept the portfolio of State. Furthermore, in [illegible] plans, Toombs had been slated for the impor- [illegible] of Secretary of the Treasury, but when the [illegible] to decline the Secretaryship of the War Depart- [illegible] recommended for the post a fellow-townsman, Leroy [illegible] a "legal and political opponent".[20] This appoint- [illegible] considerable comment and criticisms, because [illegible] strong feeling that an able man should be chosen [illegible] Department in light of the threatening war. As [illegible] Navy, Davis chose S.R. Mallory of Florida; J. [illegible] Texas as Post-Master General, and Judah P. [illegible] of Louisiana as Attorney-General.

[illegible]well, Robert W. Graduate of Harvard, twice member [illegible], and afterwards United States Senator. In 1860, [illegible] passage of the Ordinance of Secession, he was one [illegible] commissioners who went to Washington to treat with the [illegible] Government for the property within South Carolina. [illegible] deciding vote in the election of Davis. In speak- [illegible], "We South Carolinians" wrote Mrs. Chestnut, "re- [illegible]

[illegible] Clay Clopton, A Belle of the Fifties, 157.

[illegible]

From the earliest days of the Confederacy, politics played their part in the selections, and bitter controversies were frequent occurrences. As had been hoped, political intrigue had not been left behind in Washington and disappointed office-seekers raised the familiar cry "Corruption" against those in office at Montgomery. As a matter of fact, neither the cause of secession nor the cause of the South were enough to curb factions, and even at Montgomery there were leaders of anti-secession sentiment. Among these were Jere Clemens, Nick Davis, George Sanders and George Dea[21] who, although they were labelled by the ladies as "social curiosities", found listeners. So much in evidence were the many cross currents and criticisms that " we are abusing one another as fiercely as we ever have abused the Yankees",[22] a lady present remarked.

As early as February 28, 1861, the opposition to President Davis, based upon both political and personal reasons, was taking shape. This spirit of antagonism alarmed the leaders for they saw the crisis that would result when "men are willing to do an injury to our cause, if they may in so doing hurt Jeff Davis".[23]

---

[21] Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., 9-12.

[22] Ibid., 16.

[23] Ibid., 17.

[illegible] the selections, and bitter controversies were [illegible]ces. As had been hoped, political intrigue [illegible] left behind in Washington and disappointed [illegible]ers raised the familiar cry "Corruption" against [illegible] office at Montgomery. As a matter of fact, neither [illegible] of secession nor the cause of the South were [illegible] factions, and even at Montgomery there were [illegible] anti-secession sentiment. Among these were Jere [illegible], Nick Davis, George Sanders and George Dea[21] who, [illegible] they were labelled by the ladies as "social curios-[illegible] listeners. So much in evidence were the many [illegible] currents and criticisms that " we are abusing one [illegible] as fiercely as we ever have abused the Yankees",[22] [illegible].

As early as February 23, 1861, the opposition to Presi-[illegible], based upon both political and personal reasons, [illegible]. This spirit of antagonism alarmed the [illegible] for they saw the crisis that would result when "men [illegible] willing to do an injury to our cause, if they may in [illegible] hurt Jeff Davis".[23]

---

[21] [illegible] B. Chestnut, op. cit., 9-1[illegible].

[22] [illegible], 1[illegible].

[23] [illegible].

As to be expected, rumor and gossip ran riot in all political and social circles. The tenseness of the already strained emotions, the inner heartaches, and forebodings; and the wild spasms of joy and ardent convictions gave fertile soil for discord and exaggerations. The slightest rumor would create violent scenes. For example, extreme indignation was felt when the report arrived that General Scott was using all his influence to prevent the resignation of Southern officers from the United States Army- "that damnable traitor" dared to promise that they would not be sent against their own states, but it was considered just another "detestable Yankee lie". Conversation always became animated over the discussion of the possibility of peace, and there were as many who were equally ready to damn Seward as to praise him for his attitude toward the Commissioners of Peace. In all assembled groups, stories of President and Mrs. Lincoln were told and retold. Many hours were spent in discussing the "coarse vulgarity" which had invaded the White House of the United States. According to rumors, they had "so repelled Washington society that only three elite Washington families had attended the Inaugural Ball". To the great amusement of the ladies it was related that, on her arrival, Mrs. Lincoln had informed the Major-domo to economize, for she intended to save twelve thousand dollars of her husband's twenty thousand yearly salary. It delighted

them to picture Lincoln on his way to his inauguration as a "rustic coward", who had ridden through Baltimore disguised in an old Scotch cap. Imagine such lack of dignity if the President-elect of the United States! However, there were those, who, though they often laughed with the crowd, felt in spite of current reports Lincoln was a person to be reckoned with, "for had not Douglas found him clever and impossible to defeat?

During the first weeks at Montgomery the new Confederate Congress faced serious problems. Within a week after the inauguration, President Davis appointed the Peace Commission to negotiate with the Federal Government. The Committee was composed of Judge A. B. Roman of Louisiana who was a Whig, Martin J. Crawford of Georgia, a States' Rights man, and John B. Forsythe of Alabama, a zealous Douglas man. They went to Washington with the hope of effecting a peaceful settlement of the questions growing out of the separation.[24]

Then, too, Congress was busy with the making and the execution of vast preparations for war. On March 16, 1861, all the forts, arsenals, navy yards, etc., were taken over by the Confederate Congress. The Confederate States Army bill was passed on March 9 for the establishment and organization of the army of the Confederate States.[25] By early May, the army was created. A volunteer army was called into service;

---

[24] The Rebellion Record, 1860-1861, document 41, 42.

[25] Ibid., document 44.

factories to manufacture war materials were established. In order to execute these plans the following appointments were made: the three ranking officers of the Confederacy were Generals Samuel Cooper, Albert Sidney Johnston and Robert E. Lee;[26] A.C. Myers was appointed Quarter Master-General and Captain L. B. Northrup was appointed to command the Subsistence Department[27]. Captain Semmes was sent to the North to buy

---

[26] Lee, Robert E. When the secession movement began, Lee had no sympathy with it. With him a Whig, warmly devoted to the Union, the political and economic arguments for Southern independence did not weigh. The question with him was whether his first allegiance was due his state or the Union. He felt, in case Virginia seceded, the tradition of his family and its long associations with Virginia would necessitate him to cast his lot with her. Therefore, when Francis P. Blair on April 18, 1861 told him that he was authorized to offer him the field command of the United States Army, he declined the offer and stated his reasons for doing so. The next day he learned that Virginia had seceded. He submitted his resignation which was accepted April 25.

Lee had not communicated with the Virginia authorities, and had hoped that he would not have to participate in a war he deplored; but he considered his sword was at the command of his native state, and when Virginia chose him as commander of her forces he accepted on April 23 and threw all his energies in her defense.

Douglas Freeman, R. E. Lee, 1.

[27] Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., 97. "Now if I were to pick out the best abused one, where all catch it so beautifully, I should say Mr. Commissary-General Northrup was the mos t "cussed" and villified man in the Confederacy. He is held accountable for everything that goes wrong in the Army. He may not be efficient, but having been a class-mate, and crony of Jeff Davis at West Point points the moral and adorns the tale. I hear that alluded to oftenest of his many crimes."

guns and all the available arms in the market. Although he ably performed this service, the interventiom of civil authorities prevented the delivery of the arms add the machinery. Major Huse was sent to Europe to buy arms there. He was successful in making the contracts for furnishing arms and ships, but the blockade hindered the delivery of the supplies.[28]

From the above account, which is far from complete, even a casual observer can readily grasp the magnitude of the problems, and the seriousness of the situations which confronted the Confederacy Government at Montgomery. But, far more urgent were the issues which had to be considered following the message of Governor Pickens that Washington had telegraphed the decision to re-supply Fort Sumter, "peaceably if we can- forcibly if we must". This message was received on April 8, 1861, and two days later, Secretary Walker authorized General Beauregard to "demand its evacuation and if this is refused, proceed in such a manner as you may determine to reduce it". With deep and intense excitement, Montgomery heard the news ,that, on April 12, General Beauregard had fired on Fort Sumter. Then, as the meanful word that Fort Sumter had surrendered was carried throughout the South,

---

[28]Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., 11.

action distanced suspense. The effects were instantaneous. The South became more unified, and with the joyful news that Virginia had seceded, the Southerners were convinced that her soil would be the battle-ground and that her Capitol should be the capitol of the Confederacy.

In a few days after the surrender, the proposal to move the Capitol of the Confederacy to Richmond was introduced in Congress. Opposition to the plan was led by James Chestnut, Jr. who believed Montgomery nearer the heart of the Confederacy. In commenting on the proposal, the ladies approved and supported its passage, especially one who remarked that "the uncomfortable hotels[29] in Montgomery would at last move the Congress", and that it was wise for "our statesmen love their ease, and it will be hot here in the summer". However, in spite of their jesting criticisms, the ladies enjoyed the hospitality of Montgomery and many ex-

---

[29]Montgomery had two hotels, Montgomery Hall "noted for uncleanliness, resort for country merchants, horse and cattle men, but now the solons of the hour dwelt there". The Exchange was more pretentions and decidedly more comfortable. The political and military headquarters had been established in it. President Davis and the Cabinet resided there.
De Leon, Beaux and Belles of the Confederacy.

[illegible]

[illegible] became more unified, and with the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] will would be the battle-ground and that her [illegible] be the capitol of the Confederacy.

[illegible] after the surrender, the proposal to move [illegible] the Confederacy to Richmond was introduced [illegible]. Opposition to the plan was led by James Chest-[illegible] believed Montgomery nearer the heart of the [illegible]. In commenting on the proposal, the ladies ap-[illegible] supported its passage, especially one who re-[illegible] that "the uncomfortable hotels[29] in Montgomery would [illegible] have the Congress", and that it was wise for "our [illegible] love their ease, and it will be hot here in the [illegible]. However, in spite of their jesting criticisms, the [illegible] enjoyed the hospitality of Montgomery and many ex-

---

[29] [illegible]omery had two hotels, Montgomery Hall "[illegible] [illegible]liness, resort for country merchants, [illegible] [illegible] man, but now the salons of the [illegible] [illegible]". The Exchange was more pretentious [illegible] [illegible]dly more comfortable. The political and [illegible] headquarters had been established in it. [illegible] Davis and the Cabinet resided there. [illegible], Beauty and Belles of the Confederacy.

pressed regrets "that the delightful days were to be no more".

After considerable discussion, on May 20, 1861, Congress resolved that the seat of the Government of the Confederate States should be transferred from Montgomery to Richmond. An immediate adjournment followed the decision to meet in Richmond July 20, 1861.[30]

After adjournment, President Davis retired to Brierfield for a brief rest. He had found his task as President of the Confederacy an arduous one, and was near exhaustion at the finish of the session.[31] The visit at Brierfield im-

---

[30] Richmond Dispatch, May 23. "The Capitol of the Southern Confederacy is to be removed to Richmond. A more admirable location could not be found. Its beautiful and commanding position, its facilities for ready communication with all parts of the South, its healthful climate, and its obvious advantage in a military point of view, command the soundness of the selection which has been made.

We shall welcome with great pleasure the arrival in Richmond of that eminent body of statesmen and soldiers who compose the Montgomery Government. The President Jefferson Davis, is a tower of strength in himself... A brilliant critic and military staff will probably accompany the President, including, perhaps, the famous Beauregard, who, we understand, will soon take command of an important line of operations in Virginia. Our city, therefore, bids fair to become before long, a scene of stirring interest, worthy of inaugurating the magnificent history of the future Capitol of the Southern Confederacy."

[31] In preparation for moving the Confederate Government to Richmond, a sale of all government furniture was held at Montgomery. The bidding was exceedingly high for "everybody desired to possess something that had belonged to the first President of the Confederate States".
Hopley, 327.

[illegible]

[illegible] that the seat of the Government of the Confederate [illegible] should be transferred from Montgomery to Richmond. [illegible] adjournment followed the decision to meet in [illegible] 20, 1861.[30]

[illegible] ment, President Davis retired to Brierfield [illegible] rest. He had found his task as President of the [illegible] deracy an arduous one, and was near exhaustion at [illegible] of the session.[31] The visit at Brierfield im-

---

[illegible] Dispatch, May 23. "The Capitol of the Southern [illegible] acy is to be removed to Richmond. A more admirable [illegible] its facilities for ready communication with all parts of the South, its healthful climate, and its obvious advantage in a military point of view, command the soundness of the selection which has been made.

We shall welcome with great pleasure the arrival in Richmond of that eminent body of statesmen and soldiers who compose the Montgomery Government. The President Jefferson Davis, is a tower of strength in himself... A brilliant crisis [illegible] perhaps, the famous Beauregard, who, we understand, will [illegible] take command of an important line of operations in Virginia. Our city, therefore, bids fair to become be- [illegible] magnificent history of the future Capitol of the [illegible]

[illegible] preparation for moving the Confederate Government to [illegible], a sale of all government furniture was held at [illegible]. The bidding was exceedingly high for "everybody [illegible] to possess something that had belonged to the first [illegible] of the Confederate States".

[illegible]

proved his health, but he felt his presence in Richmond was needed, so, leaving his family behind, early in June, he proceeded to Virginia. He was received all along the route with flattering ovations, which caused him to hope that an united South would stand by him during the crisis. At that time, many of his future critics acclaimed him as the "coming man", whose "flag never trailed in the dust", and that a "noble and true son of the South goes to Richmond to take command in person of our soldiers there, and to lead them upon the battle field".[32]

Before the war, Richmond was a very quiet city, of only inland importance, and of simple hospitable manners. It had never aspired to metropolitan dignity, or cast aside its good and charming old habits of Virginia provincialism. As seen from a hill, with the James River flowing by; its broad level streets; full foliaged trees and spacious homes, it was a truly beautiful city. Rich in its historical associations of the past, it appeared a ready hostess to the Southerners who arrived in the late summer of '61. However, in a short time, the quiet ante bellum city of forty thousand inhabitants was changed into a crowded, tumultous "garish city of

---

[32]Edward Pollard, Life of Jefferson Davis, 127. The above quotation was made by Vice-President Stephens.

fable, decked with camps, arsenals, and furnaces- and teaming with the new and strange life that had taken possession" with a population of several times the forty thousand.

To accomodate the influx of congressional and military folk, the patriotic citizens opened their homes. However, soon the capacity of every residence, hotel and lodging place was crowded to its utmost. The President was given a suite in the Spottswood Hotel, which had become a "miniature world of the Confederacy". Included in his official family who lived at the hotel were Colonel and Mrs. James Chestnut, Mr. Alexander Stephens, Mr. Howell Cobb, and others. Also, living at the hotel were the wives of many of the military officers who were in the field.

Before long evidences of serious discord between members of this intimate circle were noticed. There were former friends who had become bitter enemies and were creating a "situation of unutterable confusion and discord".[33] The resentment some had felt over the election of Davis had not been forgotten. In conversing with Colonel Chestnut, a prominent member from South Carolina pronounced Davis "a failure and his cabinet a farce"; and that Howell Cobb should have

---

[33]Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., 63. Letter from Colonel Chestnut describing affairs in Richmond, June 12, 1861.

[illegible]

[illegible] of several times the forty thousand.

[illegible]

[illegible] of every residence, hotel and lodging place [illegible] its utmost. The President was given a suite [illegible] Hotel, which had become a "miniature world [illegible]". Included in his official family who [illegible] the wives of many of the military officers [illegible].

[illegible] evidences of serious discord between members [illegible] had become bitter enemies and were creating a [illegible] unutterable confusion and discord".[77] The re- [illegible] had felt over the election of Davis had not [illegible]. In conversing with Colonel Chestnut, a prom- [illegible] from South Carolina pronounced Davis "a failure [illegible] a farce"; and that Howell Cobb should have

---

[77] [illegible] Chestnut, op. cit., [illegible]. Letter from Colonel [illegible] of [illegible] in Richmond, June 12, 1861.

been elected, as his "common sense might have saved the South!"[34] Early in the history of the Cabinet revolts, Toombs was seen to be in opposition to the President. At Montgomery he was doubtless disappointed at not being made President of the Confederacy, and he accepted the Secretaryship of State with some reluctance, realizing that his talents lay rather in finance. Furthermore, his advice as when he opposed the authorization of Beauregard to reduce Fort Sumter, and when he recommended that heavy taxation rather than complete reliance upon credit for the conduct of the war, came to naught.[35] In answer to the many questions concerning the revolt, one of the ladies explained it as an "incompatibility of temperament", between them, since Toombs rode too "high a horse", that is, for so despotic a person as Jeff Davis. "I have," she said, "tried to find the sore spot but cant... and dread the future of the Cabinet because dissentions will continue

---

[34] Ibid., 68.

[35] U.B. Phillips, The Life of Robert Toombs. As months passed he grew contemptuous of Davis and subordination in an idle office became unbearable. He applied for a military commission and in July, 1861, was given command of a Georgia brigade on the Virginia front.

As a General, Toombs wanted to fight, so when superior officers adopted a defensive policy, he censured their actions and that of the government which supported them. It was not merely in private that he said the epitaph of the Confederate Army should be "died of West Point", and of Jeff Davis, "We'll get our independance in spite of him". Phillips, Correspondance, 577, 592.

[illegible], as his "common sense might have saved the South."[34] [illegible] history of the Cabinet revolts, Toombs was seen [illegible] to the President. At Montgomery he was [illegible] disappointed at not being made President of the Con- [illegible] he accepted the Secretaryship of State with [illegible], realizing that his talents lay rather in [illegible]

[illegible] that heavy taxation rather than complete reliance [illegible] for the conduct of the war, came to naught.[35]

[illegible] the many questions concerning the revolt, one [illegible] dies explained it as an "incompatibility of temperament" between them, since Toombs rode too "high a horse", [illegible] for so despotic a person as Jeff Davis. "I have," [illegible], "tried to find the sore spot but cant... and dread [illegible] the Cabinet because dissentions will continue

---

[illegible]

[illegible] Phillips, The Life of Robert Toombs. As months passed [illegible] of Davis and subordination in an idle [illegible] unbearable. He applied for a military commission [illegible], 1861, was given command of a Georgia brigade on [illegible] front.

[illegible] Toombs wanted to fight, so when superior of- [illegible] a defensive policy, he censured their actions [illegible] the government which supported them. It was not [illegible] private that he said the epitaph of the Confederate [illegible] be "died of West Point", and of Jeff Davis, "[illegible] independence in spite of him". Phillips, Correspondence.

to break out... There is a perfect magazine of discord and discontent in that Cabinet; Only wants a hand to apply the torch and up the go... and Memminger has his back up as high as any."[36]

Throughout the days of the Confederacy, there was continuous friction, both personal and political; between the high officers of the Government, and between the President and the military officers. Instead of going into detail concerning this complicated phase of Confederate history, a mention of the attitude of the women writers will have to be sufficient. As to be expected, they were influenced by the ties of family association, political factions as well as personal friendships. When the rupture between President Davis and General Louis Wigfall took place, the social life became involved. Although former friends, Mrs. Wigfall with her ever-quick tongue, made a sharp criticism of the President's wife, speaking of her as "that coarse western woman". Naturally, a social war ensued. Soon another friendship of long standing was broken by the well-known feud between President Davis and General Joseph E. Johnston.

---

[36]Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., 108.

[illegible] ... There is a perfect magazine of discord [illegible] t in that Cabinet; Only wants a hand to apply [illegible] up the go... and Memminger has his back up [illegible]."[35]

[illegible] he days of the Confederacy, there was contin- [illegible], both personal and political; [illegible] between the [illegible] the Government, and between the President [illegible] ary officers. Instead of going into detail [illegible] the attitude of the women writers will have to [illegible] association, political factions as well [illegible] friendships. When the rupture between President [illegible] General Louis Wigfall took place, the social [illegible] ever-quick tongue, made a sharp criticism of the [illegible]'s wife, speaking of her as "that coarse western [illegible]. [illegible]urally, a social war ensued. Soon another [illegible] of long standing was broken by the well-known [illegible] Presidents Davis and General Joseph E. Johnston.

[illegible] Chestnut, op. cit., 107.

For,"in Washington", wrote Mrs. Chestnut, "Mrs. Davis, Mrs. Emory and Mrs. Johnston were always together, inseparable friends... and pointed out as the cleverest women in the United States". But, when the break came the unkindness of their remarks showed how bitter were their hearts.[37]

When Jefferson Davis was inaugurated, as the permanent President of the Confederacy, on February 22, 1862, large crowds came from all parts of the South. In spite of the fact that rain was falling in torrents, the friends of the President and the curious crowds were there to witness the ceremony. Thousands braving the mud which almost made the streets impassable assembled in the square of the Capitol. The President stood at the base of the equestrian statue of Washington. The Honorable R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia[38] occupied the seat on the right and Vice-President Stephens on the left. The other members of the cabinet were present, also, a large

---

[37]Louise Wright Wigfall, op. cit., 159.
Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit.

[38]Hunter, Robert Mercer Taliaferro (1809-1887). Following the resignation of Toombs, he became Secretary of State, serving from July 25, 1861 to February 18, 1862 when he gave way to Judah Benjamin and became a member of the Senate. There he remained until the fall of the Confederate governemtn.

group of visiting dignitaries. The crowds were disappointed, according to the ladies present, because on account of the heavy rain, they were not able to hear the inaugural address.

In the evening, President and Mrs. Davis received at a reception in the newly decorated "White House of the Confederacy". Richmond was pleased by the favorable impression created by its official host and hostess. He impressed his guests with his manner which was "very cordial but weary and grave" and Mrs. Davis "won the hearts by her usual unpretending kindness".[39]

As is customary with one of high position President and Mrs. Davis were the recipients of varied comments and estimations of their abilities and purposes. There were the caustic remarks of their enemies and thoughtless acquaintances which are marked contradictions of the personalities as portrayed by those who were daily associated with them. After considering carefully many of the more or less prejudiced comments, as well as the more sentimental eulogies, Varina Howell Davis appears to have been a womanly woman of a warm heart and impetuous tongue, a clever but caustic wit. Furthermore, she possessed a sensitive generous nature, and was a devoted wife and mother, and a gracious hostess.[40] She took keen delight in her new home. The "old Brockenborough

---

[39]Judith B. McGuire, A Diary of a Southern Refugee, 96.

[40]Eron Rowland, Varina Howell
Sallie Brock Putnam, Richmond during the War.
Judith P. McGuire, A Diary of a Southern Refugee,
E. A. Pollard, Life of Jefferson Davis
Constance Cary Harrison, Recollections, Grave and Gay.

[illegible] the ladies present, because on account of the [illegible]. They were not able to hear the inaugural address.

[illegible] the newly decorated "White House of the Confed-[illegible]. [illegible]chmond was pleased by the favorable impression [illegible] its official host and hostess. He impressed his [illegible] his manner which was "very cordial but weary and [illegible]s. Davis "won the hearts by her usual unpretend-[illegible]".[1]

[illegible] with one of high position President and [illegible] abilities and purposes. There were the [illegible]arks of their enemies and thoughtless acquaintan-[illegible] which are marked contradictions of the personalities [illegible] by those who were daily associated with them. [illegible] well as the more sentimental eulogies, Varina [illegible] appears to have been a womanly woman of a warm [illegible] impetuous tongue, a clever but caustic wit. Fur-[illegible] possessed a sensitive generous nature, and was [illegible] delight in her new home. The "old Brockenborough

---

[1] Judith B. McGuire, A Diary of a Southern Refugee, 9[illegible].

[2] [illegible] Rowland, Varina Howell
[illegible] Brock Putnam, Richmond During the War.
Judith P. McGuire, A Diary of a Southern Refugee.
[illegible] Pollard, Life of Jefferson Davis
[illegible]nce Cary Harrison, Recollections, Grave and Gay.

House" had been renovated, and soon became known as the "White House of the Confederacy". It was architecturally lovely, with its spacious rooms, the exquisite Carrara mantels in classical designs and the graceful stairways.[41] She enjoyed the mansion as a setting for her formal and informal entertaining. At the state occasions the guests were sometimes critical of the rigid formality and sumptious entertainment, considering it a mark of poor taste to make such a display during war time, and especially when there was so much need in the South. But, along with the criticisms, were many praises for the simplicity and genuineness of the hospitality accorded guests at the "White House". A guest at the New Year's reception, on January 1, 1862 wrote the following in her history of Richmond during the War:[42]

> The President of the Confederacy for the first time since its existence, struggling into national life, had his New Year's reception. The officers, civil, naval, and military; the members of Congress and the State's Legislature, and admiring crowds of less note, pressed forward to testify their admiration and esteem of the first President of the South. With the ease, grace, dignity and gentleness peculiar to him, Mr. Davis received his guests, to all of whom he had something cheerful to say- some pleasant reminiscence to revive, compliment to offer. There was none of the rigid austerity, the repulsive hateur with which persons of position sometimes attempt to overawe those less favored by fortuitous circumstances.

---

[41]Varina Howell Davis, op. cit., 11.

[42]Sallie B. Putnam, op. cit., 91.

[illegible] been renovated, and soon became known as the "White [illegible] Confederacy". It was architecturally lovely, [illegible] spacious rooms, the exquisite Carrara mantels in [illegible] and the graceful stairways.[1] She enjoyed [illegible] as a setting for her formal and informal enter-[illegible]. [illegible] the state occasions the guests were sometimes [illegible] the rigid formality and sumptuous entertainment. [illegible] a mark of poor taste to make such a display [illegible] time, and especially when there was so much need [illegible]. But, along with the criticisms, were many [illegible] the simplicity and genuineness of the hospital-[illegible] guests at the "White House". A guest at the [illegible] ion, on January 1, 1862 wrote the following [illegible] of Richmond during the war:

> The President of the Confederacy for the first time since its existence, struggling [illegible] national life, had his new leap's re-[illegible]tion. The officers, civil, naval, and [illegible]itary; the members of Congress and the State's Legislature, and admiring crowds of less note, pressed forward to testify their [illegible]ion and esteem of the first President of the South. With the ease, grace, dignity [illegible] gentleness peculiar to him, Mr. Davis received his guests, to all of whom he had something cheerful to say - some pleasant reminiscence to revive, compliment to offer. There was none of the rigid austerity, the repulsive hateur with which persons of posi-tion sometimes attempt to overawe those less favored by fortuitous circumstances.

---

[1] [illegible] Howell Davis, op. cit., 11.

[illegible]

During the four years of the Confederacy, the President was a familiar and picturesque figure at Richmond. As in the case of Mrs. Davis, there have been varied pictures of him handed down by the women writers of the time. The following sketch, written by a lady who knew him well, painted an excellent portrait:[43]

> He might be seen daily walking through the Capitol square from his residence to the executive office in the morning, not

---

[43]Constance Cary Harrison, Recollections Grave and Gay, 70.

The author was the daughter of Archibald and Monima Fairfax Cary. She was born in Fairfax County, Virginia. Her father was the son of William Jefferson Cary, and great nephew of Thomas Jefferson and her mother was a daughter of Thomas, ninth Lord of Fairfax who never assumed his title. Archibald Cary was editor of the Cumberland Civilian at Cumberland, Maryland. After his death, his widow took her three children to live with her mother at the Fairfax estate Vanclause, near Alexandria, Virginia. There the family remained until the estate was destroyed during the war. Constance was educated at Miss Jane Kenah's at Cumberland and at a boarding school in Richmond where she was taught by M. Hubert Lefevre.

During the war, her mother became a volunteer nurse and Constance spent a busy life nursing, writing and taking an active part in a round of social affairs at Richmond. Several years after the war she married Mr. Burton Harrison, the Secretary to President Davis.

the four years of the Confederacy, the President
, and picturesque figure at Richmond. As in
case of Mrs. Davis, there have been varied pictures
of him drawn down by the women writers of the time.
The following sketch, written by a lady who knew him
well, contains an excellent portrait:[43]

> He might be seen daily walking through
> the Capitol square from his residence to
> executive office in the morning, not

> to return until late in the afternoon; or riding just before night fell to visit one of another of the encampments near the city. He was tall, erect, slender, and of a dignified and soldierly bearing, with clear-cut and high bold features and a demeanor of stately courtesy to all. He was always clad in Confederate grey cloth, and wore a soft felt hat with a broad brim. Afoot his step was brisk and firm, in the saddle he rode admirably and with a martial aspect... everything suggestive of military training... and at the first tiding of the sound of a gun, he was in the saddle and off to the spot- to the dismay of his staff officers, who never knew at what hour of the night or next day they should get back to bed or to a meal.

For the most part, the women writers left for the historians to relate the errors and many faults of the President of the South. Many of those who belonged to the opposing political factions were not entirely free from sympathy. "That he erred," wrote Mrs. Wright, "erred fatally, no one cognizant of the state of affairs at the time can doubt: but it is equally sure that the penalty of his mistakes was born with a dignity and serene courage which excited the admiration of the world."[44] Another well-informed lady, in

---

[44]Louise Wigfall Wright, op. cit., 159.

to remedy the errors and many faults of
the irregular. [illegible]
the opposing political factions were not
[illegible] from speaking. "What he wrote,"
[illegible], owned readily, no one contradicted the
[illegible] at the time own doubt: but it is equally
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] scene courage which excited the admiration
of the world."

Another well-informed lady, in

speaking of the ~~admiration~~ administration of Mr. Davis, said that it "was never wholly acceptable to the people". For, the nearly arbitrary power conferred upon him, placed in his hands almost exclusive military control, "which was managed in such a way as to irritate some of our most accomplished and best informed generals." A marked characteristic was his obstinacy, which was often seen in his refusal to concede anything to the people in their regard to changes in the cabinet; to whom from seemingly inefficiency, Mr. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, and Mr. Benjamin, Secretary of War, had become objectionable, and was the source of unpopularity". But now, as then, the question is "who could do better?- Who as well?"[45]

---

[45]Putnam, op. cit., 108.

Chapter 4

Economic and Other Activities of the Confederacy

The years of the Confederacy were a period of intense activity for the women of the South. With the first drum beat, they went to work, and were, even more, busily engaged when the surrender came. It is gratifying to note that the willingness to help and sacrifice was not confined to any one class of section of the country. The "girl in the calico frock" of the smaller farms, the "mountain gal" of the up-country, and the belles of society were equally interested and anxious to serve the cause of the South.

During the earlier months, the equilibrum of the women, as well as the men, was disturbed by

Chapter I

[illegible] and Other Activities of the Confederacy

the rapid events, intense excitement, patriotic outbursts and the problems of adapting themselves to the new situations which secession had created. It was not long, however, before sound reasoning began to check the tendencies to follow blindly emotional dictates and impulses, and, the full meaning of the war was grasped when they found themselves "encompassed by the Federal blockade, and forced to depend entirely on their own resources". When such a time arrived, instead of spending their days regretting the passing of the "good ole times", they set about with a zealous determination to make the best of the situation, and, as one of the loyal ones remarked, "to aid the cause of our convictions impressed on us as right and just". They saw that "the soldiers had to be fed and clothed; all provisions and clothing for the slaves had to be produced and manufactured at home; leather had to be produced and manufactured at home; and all munitions of the war manufactured inside the blockade".[1] Formerly, "huge bales of kerseys, osnaburgs, and boxes of heavy brogans had been shipped from the North", but such supplies

---

[1]Parthenia Hague, A Blockaded Family, 14-15.

[illegible] events, intense excitement, patriotic outbursts [illegible] problems of adapting themselves to the new situ- [illegible] secession had created. It was not long, how- [illegible], [illegible] sound reasoning began to check the tendencies [illegible] emotional dictates and impulses, and, [illegible] of the war was grasped when they found [illegible] encompassed by the Federal blockade, and [illegible] entirely on their own resources". When [illegible] arrived, instead of spending their days regret- [illegible] of the "good ole times", they set about [illegible] determination to make the best of the situ- [illegible], as one of the loyal ones remarked, "to aid [illegible] our convictions impressed on us as right and [illegible]. They saw that "the soldiers had to be fed and [illegible]; all provisions and clothing for the slaves had to [illegible] and manufactured at home; leather had to be [illegible] and manufactured at home; and all munitions of [illegible] manufactured inside the blockade".[1] Formerly, [illegible] of kerseys, osnaburgs, and boxes of heavy bro- [illegible] been shipped from the North", but such supplies

---

[1] [illegible] Hague, A Blockaded Family, 14-15.

were no longer available. Consequently, "it was a serious hour for the lower South" commented one of the writers, "when the fact was seen that up to the beginning of the war we had been dependent on the North for almost everything eaten and worn". For, "cotton was cultivated in the South, almost universally before the war, it was marketed in the North, it was manufactured there, and then returned in various kinds of cloth material."[2]

In attempting to solve the problem of an adequate food supply, the Confederate government asked all those who were engaged in agriculture to put only one-tenth in cotton, there being no market for cotton,

---

[2] Ibid., 15. In spite of the fact that the work of Miss Hague is an excellent source for the study of ecomomic life of Alabama during the war, the above quoted statement is only partially true. Granted that the South was more dependent than it cared to be, yet the census of 1850 show the number of manufactures in the Southern states to be increasing. In the census 131,657 manufactures were listed and 27,725 were in the South. Virginia had 4,841 the largest number. About one-fifth of all cotton factories were in Southern states with Georgia having the largest number. Virginia had one hundred and twenty-one woolen mills. There were iron factories- Virginia had fifty-one. One-third of the tanneries were in Southern states. The value of home industries was $27, 493, 644, of which $18,634,129 was of southern products.
DeBow, Review, xxiv, 1858, 555-559.

[illegible] available. Consequently, "it was a [illegible] for the lower South" commented one of [illegible]

[illegible] was cultivated in the South, almost uni-[illegible] before the war, it was marketed in the [illegible]

In attempting to solve the problem of an ade-[illegible] supply, the Confederate government asked all [illegible] engaged in agriculture to put only [illegible] in cotton- there being no market for cotton,

---

[illegible] In spite of the fact that the work [illegible] is an excellent source for the study [illegible] life of Alabama during the war, the [illegible] statement is only partially true. [illegible] that the South was more dependent than [illegible] be, yet the census of 1850 show [illegible] of manufactures in the Southern [illegible] be increasing. In the census [illegible] were listed and [illegible] were in [illegible] Virginia had [illegible] the largest [illegible] [illegible] states with Georgia having the [illegible] Virginia had one hundred and [illegible] woolen mills. These were iron fac-[illegible] Virginia had fifty-one. One-third of [illegible] were in Southern states. The [illegible] home industries was [illegible], of [illegible] was of southern products.
[illegible] Review. [illegible]

and for agriculturists to give one-tenth of all their possessions raised.[3] However, the last part of the proposal was not extensively used nor effectively carried out.

In the lower South, before the war, the cultivation of cereal grains was quite rare. But, when the blockade had enclosed those states, the planters set about to grow wheat, rye, oats, corn, peas, pumpkins and ground peas. The "'chufa', a thing never heard of before," wrote a lady of Alabama, "now came to the front, and was soon cultivated along with the ground pea... as a cheap food for the swine." Many planters in giving their corn and their cotton the "laying-by" plowing would plant ground peas , chufas and sweet potatoes which would be used to feed the hogs, in order that the corn could be given to the government. Peanuts were important products, for besides being used for foods, they furnished an oil which could be used for lamps and other household needs.[4]

---

[3]Parthenia Hague, op. cit., 16.

[4]Ibid., 16-19.

Because of the war conditions, the growing of wheat became a profitable occupation. Many planters who had never before cultivated it were pleasantly surprised at the yield of the grain to the acreage sown. As a result, a keen but friendly rivalry existed among the growers, and a successful yield was the subject of speculation concerning soil, seed and cultivation. But, new crops presented new problems. Lacking proper harvesting equipment, the planters devised many ingenious methods to thresh the grain. With great difficulty some threshed and fanned the wheat at their gin-houses, while others resorted to the crudest sort of home-made flails. The most common method was to put the wheat in the salting trough and beat with sticks, in order to free the grain from the husks.

Notwithstanding that there were hundreds of planters growing wheat, flour was scarce and a highly prized commodity. After delivering the government demands, little was left for the growers. Many amusing incidents and excuses for hospitality centered around the flour-barrel. It was not unusual to hear men and women, at social gatherings, or when separating from church, press their friends with a genuine invitation to visit them for "there is

[illegible] the war conditions, the growing of wheat be-
[illegible] profitable occupation. Many planters who had never
[illegible] cultivated it were pleasantly surprised at the
[illegible] of the grain to the acreage sown. As a result,
a [illegible] friendly rivalry existed among the growers, and
a [illegible] was the subject of speculation con-
[illegible] and cultivation. But new crops cre-
[illegible]s. Lacking proper harvesting equip-
[illegible] devised many ingenious methods to thresh
[illegible]. With great difficulty some threshed and
[illegible] at their gin-houses, while others re-
[illegible] sort of home-made flails. The
[illegible] method was to put the wheat in the belting
[illegible] with sticks, in order to free the grain
[illegible].

[illegible] that there were hundreds of planters
[illegible] flour was scarce and a highly prized com-
[illegible]. After delivering the government demands, little
[illegible] growers. Many amusing incidents and ex-
[illegible] hospitality centered around the flour-barrel.
[illegible] unusual to hear men and women, at social gather-
[illegible] separating from church, cross their friends
[illegible] the invitation to visit them for "there is

flour in the barrel". As a matter of fact, among the ladies, the rice and meal which were univeraally used as substitutes, lacked the social prestige of flour.

The lower South began to grow lager crops of sugar and sorghum cane to meet the increasing demand, when the highly prized and profitable sugar trade with the West Indies had been almost completely destroyed by the blockade,[5] The growing of sugar cane was not new to the planter of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama,[6] but the war stimulated the cultivation. Then, too, the "cultivation of sorghum", according to a lady of Virginia, "became a very important consideration with the agriculturists of the more northern of the Southern states, being peculiarly adapted to the soil and climate, and furnishing a cheap and excellent substitute for the sugar cane of the west Indies."[7] Another substitute was the refined juice of watermelons, which made a sugar "as fine or even finer than that made from sugar cane". Naturally,

---

[5]The United States official returns gave the value of the sugar imported in 1857 as $50,873,779.
DeBow, xxiv, 555.

[6]In 1850 the value of the cane sugar crop of the Southern states (largely) was $12,378,850.
DeBow, xxiv, 555.

[7]Sallie Brock Putnam, Richmond during the War, 78-81.

[illegible] the rice and meal which were universally used [illegible]es, lacked the social prestige of flour.

[illegible] South began to grow larger crops of sugar [illegible] to meet the increasing demand. When [illegible] prized and profitable sugar trade with the [illegible] had been almost completely destroyed by [illegible],[5] The growing of sugar cane was not now [illegible] "[illegible] a very important consideration with the [illegible] of the more northern of the Southern states, being peculiarly adapted to the soil and climate, and furnishing a cheap and excellent substitute for the sugar [illegible] the west Indies."[7] Another substitute was the refined juice of watermelons, which made a sugar "as fine [illegible] finer than that made from sugar cane". Naturally,

---

[illegible] imported in 1857 as [illegible]
[illegible], xxiv, 555.

[illegible] the value of the cane sugar crop of the Southern [illegible] was [illegible],850.
[illegible]

[illegible] Brock Putnam, Richmond during the War, 78-81.

the planters prided themselves on their products, and it was "not uncommon", wrote Miss Hague, "to see the planters when they called upon each other, draw from their pockets small packages wrapped in their own manufactured brown paper, containing samples of their make of sugar to compare with the sugar made by others".[8]

As the war continued, speculation in sugar became a most profitable business for the citizens who were interested in that phase of Confederate life. And, there were many in that class. The supply, whether obtained by blockade running, or by production, was carefully hoarded until the dema nd was great, then would be put on themarket at an exorbitant price. As a result, sugar soon became one of the many articles which were rarely seen in Southern homes during the war.

With the growth of the sugar industry came the need for more mills to grind the cane. Then, inasmuch as sugar and syrup had to be placed in barrels, the making of the barrels became another growing industry. Before long the coopers were busy making barrels, casks, tubs, and piggins. They were manufactured out of oak, pine, cypress and juniper. As it was thought that the flavor of the

---

[8]Parthenia Hague, op. cit., 29.

oak improved the taste of the sugar and syrup, the oak barrel was generally used for that.

In 1850, the South had nearly one-third of all the tanneries in the United States, which was about two thousand.[9] Yet, the supply was not adequate and the Confederate government and homes faced a real crisis in the shortage of leather. Obviously, it was necessary to have leather to supply the soldiers with shoes, harness, saddles, and for use in manufacturing processes. In order to meet the crisis, planters and farmers throughout the South, were reduced to the necessity of tanning leather for their own use, and to aid in supplying the demands of the Confederacy. The hides of horses, mules, hogs and dogs were all utilized- there was some objection, on the part of several young ladies, when the hides of hogs which had died in a cholera epidemic were turned into leather for their shoes. "We consented with reluctance," said one of the young ladies, "for although we were willing to immolate ourselves on the altar of the Southern Confederacy, it had fallen rather severely on us to think we must wear hog-skin shoes."[10]

---

[9] DeBow, Review, xxiv, 557. Tennessee had 394; Virginia 341; Kentucky 227; North Carolina 151; Alabama 149; Georgia 140; Mississippi 92, South Carolina 91.

[10] Parthenia Hague, op. cit., 19.

In tanning the hides the planters and farmers developed a real technique. Frequently "when neighbors called upon another neighbor, their leathers were displayed and its excellency of quality discussed."[11] But, regardless of their efforts, the Southerners were not able to supply the increasing demands of the Confederacy, and throughout the war shoes and leather equipment were sorely needed.

There was a scarcity of salt in all states of the

---

[11] When tanning, the hides were soaked in a solution of weak lye and lime. Then the hair was removed (the bristles of the hogs were carefully treated because brushes were manufactured from them) and the hides were ready for the next stage. A pit was dug near a spring or a stream of running water. The bottom and sides were lined with boards and the seams were calked tightly with lint cotton to prevent the tan-ooze from escaping. Then the bark (oak) which had been peeled in long strips just as it came from the trees, and the hides were laid in alternate layers until the pit was filled. Water was poured into the vat and the contents left to steep from three to six months, according to the fancy of the tanner. "I heard", said Miss Hague, "planters say they had never bought better leather than that which they tanned in this simple process."

Hague, op. cit., 20-25.

---

the South. In the early years of the war, the famous salt mines, in the Kanawha Valley in Virginia, were captured by the Federals. But, after the recapture of the Valley by General Lee, the upper states were able to get some salt from the eleven furnaces which worked day and night to produce almost two million bushels yearly. As part of a conservation program, Virginia drew for her citizens the small amount alloted to each.[12] When the mines in the Mississippi Valley were taken by the Federals, the Southerners of the interior were "obliged to have recourse to whatever expedient ingenuity suggested". All the brines left in the troughs and barrels, where pork had been slated down were carefully dipped up, and converted into salt by boiling down to point of crystallizing. "Scarcely a smoke-house in the South", wrote one of the ladies, "having an earthen floor which had received the drippings from the hams and bacons of earlier days, but underwent a scraping and sifting in an effort to secure the precious grains deposited there".[13]

---

[12] Catherine Hopley-Smith, Life in the South, 1, 305.

[13] Virginia Clay-Clopton, Belle of the Fifties, 223.

Caroline Hopley-Smith, Life in the South, I, 305.

Virginia Clay-Clopton, Belle of the Fifties, 219.

Before the war, cotton mills had been established in several Southern states.[14] But, there were too few to meet the necessities of war. In order to supplement the factories, almost every household became a miniature factory in itself, with the cotton, cards, spinning wheels, looms, warping frames, and so on, being used day and night. At times, it was possible to facilitate the making of the cloth by having the lint cotton carded into rollers by the machinery in the factories. Then it would be spun into the cloth by the women in their homes. On account of the scarcity of needed equipment, the home factories faced problems which required nothing less than real genius to solve.[15] When looking back on the war

---

[14] In 1850, the slave states had 202 cotton mills (less than 1/5 of nation): Georgia had 35, Tennessee, 33; North Carolina, 28; Virginia, 27; South Carolina, 18; Alabama, 12; Mississippi, 2; Louisiana, Texas, and Florida had none listed. There were 13,945 laborers working in the mills.
DeBow, Review, xxiv, 556.

[15] Such appeals as the following show the spirit toward the lack of needed equipment:
Jacksonville Enquirer, Nov. 1, 1861. Letter to editor:
Gentlemen-
What is to be done for cotton cards in the Confederacy? there being no factory of this sort south of Baltimore! Men we have in abundance to fight our battles and munitions of war are doubtless on hand and being provided. But soldiers must be clothed. This can be done by our own noble women if they can get cards: but without them "country jeans" cannot be made, and all know that without "country jeans" our soldiers now in Richmond would be destitute of clothing to a great extent.
Richmond is becoming distinguished as a manufacturing city. Can she not add to her present establishment, one for the manufacture of cards, both for factories and the hand?

[illegible] the war, cotton mills had been established [illegible] southern states.[14] But, there were too few [illegible] necessities of war. In order to supple- [illegible] factories, almost every household became a [illegible] factory in itself, with the cotton, cards, [illegible] looms, warping frames, and so on, [illegible] and night. At times, it was possible [illegible] the making of the cloth by having the [illegible] carded into rollers by the machinery in [illegible]. Then it would be spun into the cloth [illegible] in their homes. On account of the [illegible] needed equipment, the home factories [illegible] which required nothing less than real [illegible] to solve.[15] When looking back on the war

---

[14] In 1860, the slave states had 202 cotton mills (less [illegible]): Georgia had 35; Tennessee, 3; [illegible] Carolina, 26; Virginia, 27; South Carolina, 14; [illegible], 12; Mississippi, 2; Louisiana, Texas, and Flor- [illegible] none listed. There were 1[illegible],[illegible] laborers working [illegible].
[illegible] Review, xxiv, [illegible].

[15] [illegible] appeals as the following show the spirit toward [illegible] of needed equipment:
[illegible]ville Enquirer, Nov. 1, 1861. Letter to editor:
[illegible]
What is to be done for cotton cards in the Confeder- [illegible] there being no factory of this sort south of Baltimore! [illegible] in abundance to fight our battles and munitions [illegible] are doubtless on hand and being provided. But sol- [illegible] be clothed. This can be done by our own [illegible] [illegible] get cards: but without them "country jeans" can- [illegible], and all know that without "country jeans" our [illegible] in Richmond would be destitute of clothing to [illegible].
[illegible] is becoming distinguished as a manufacturing city. [illegible] add to her present establishment, one for the manu- [illegible] cards, both for factories and the hand.

days, the women wondered how they had been able to face the perplexities which confronted them, and how they had been able "to adapt themselves so quickly to the great changed rendered necessary in the mode of life by the blockade".

In the making of cloth, much trouble was experienced in finding dyes to color the material. However in the course of time, both at the old mills and in the smaller experimental factories run by hand, the bark of trees, leaves, roots, and berries were found to contain definite coloring properties. In a short time, the vanity of the ladies was not content with a mere "warp and woof" no matter how finely spun, consequently, there were numbers of experiments to produce a combination of bright and "fast" colors. The North Carolina women were unusually successful in achieving attractive colors, and their bright-colored homespuns were greatly desired by the ladies of the cities and the towns who were less efficient in meeting the privations of the blockade. As usual, some of the older heads disapproved of such "flippancies", and complacently wore their smoothly ironed gray "pepper and salt" or rusty brown homespun patterns, which remained fresh long after the gayer colors had been

faded by the sun and water.

As a matter of fact, the home industries were so successful in producing fine coloring that they gave an impetus to the later development of cloth making in the South. It was found that the dye from the myrtle shrub produced a serviceable gray for woolen goods; a beautiful dark brown could be made from walnut hulls; the pine tree roots contributed the warm garnet so admired by the younger ladies; various shades of green were obtained from the bark of the hickory tree; the indigo bush was cultivated to be used in making a blue dye; and the juice of a weed called the "Queen's delight" would dye wool a jet black.[16]

Before 1860, there were a few factories in the South, which manufactured woolen goods. When the war came, they went to work making the Confederate gray. In the early days of preparation, Mr. Irby Morgan, brother of General John Morgan, and a group of buyers went to Texas to purchase all available woolfor the Confederate government. On their return, they delivered to the manufacturers of woolen and cotton goods in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee, four hundred and fifty thousand pounds of raw wool to be woven into cloth for uniforms. Five hundred thousand yards of Confederate gray, according to

---

[16]Mrs. Irby Morgan, How It Was, 10-11.

the wife of Mr. Morgan, were delivered to the department at Atlanta. This material had been manufactured at the cost of seventy-five cents a yard at a time when it was selling in the market at five dollars a yard.[17] The cloth was then distributed to the various sewing societies of the ladies, who were to make it into uniforms for the army.

As in the case of cotton goods, the making of woolen cloth was successfully carried out in the homes. All kinds of woolen materials- flannels, both colored and white, plaids of bright colors which were considered comparable to the famed Scotch plaids and balmorals (which were then in fashion) were woven, with "grave or gay borders, as suited their fancy". Also, woolen coverlets and blankets were made. The process of weaving all-wool blankets with warp and woof hand spun was a tedious task which required great skill. Along with those already mentioned, various kinds of twilled woolen cloth and even carpets of difficult designs were woven in the hand looms.

At times, in order to hurry up the tedious task, the wool, as in the case of cotton lint, would be carried to the nearest mill (usually a cotton mill) to have it card-

---

[17]Parthenia Hague, op. cit., 40-26.

[illegible] Mr. Morgan, were delivered to the department [illegible]. This material had been manufactured at the [illegible] of [illegible]y-five cents a yard at a time when it was [illegible] the market at five dollars a yard.[17] The [illegible] then distributed to the various sewing societies [illegible] ladies, who were to make it into uniforms for the [illegible].

[illegible] the case of cotton goods, the making of woolen [illegible] successfully carried out in the homes. All [illegible] materials- flannels, both colored and [illegible] of bright colors which were considered con- [illegible] to the famed Scotch plaids and balmorals (which [illegible] in fashion) were woven, with "grave or gay [illegible], as suited their fancy". Also, woolen coverlets [illegible] blankets were made. The process of weaving all-wool [illegible] warp and woof hand soun was a tedious [illegible]. [illegible], various kinds of twilled woolen cloth and [illegible] of difficult designs were woven in the hand [illegible].

[illegible] times, in order to hurry up the tedious task, the [illegible], [illegible] in the case of cotton lint, would be carried to [illegible] mill (usually a cotton mill) to have it card-

---

[17] [illegible]

ed into rolls. For carding rolls by hand was a slow and difficult process.

The varied activities centered around these "miniature factories", as some of the ladies called the homes, were vividly sketched by Mrs. Fannie Beers in her Memories. The following scene was typical of all sections of the South:

> Tables in the halls of plantation houses were piled high with newly dyed cloth and hanks of woolen and cotton yarns. The ladies soon became very apt at knitting capes, saques, shawls, gloves, socks, stockings and men's suspenders... The knitting needles were made out of seasoned hickory sticks... So great was the demand for socks that the ladies walked about in performance of household or plantation duties, socks in hand, "casting on", "heeling", or "turning off". By the light of pine knots, the elders knitted far into the night, while to the younger eyes and more supple fingers was committed the task of finishing off.[18]

Thus, the South became a land veritably clothed in homespun; "I remember being perfectly delighted", wrote a daughter of a wealthy South Carolina family, "when I

---

[18]Mrs. Fannie Beers, Memories, 54.

had on a complete suit of home-made clothes, a dress of cotton which had been grown in our fields and spun by the negro women... A hat made of palmetto straw, and my shoes were not as comfortable as they might have been, although made of soft, young calf-skin and tanned on the plantation. The shoes were made by the overseer.[18] And the great ladies of Virginia, famed for the beautiful wardrobes, were delighted with their genteel dresses made from homespun cloth purchased in North Carolina or Georgia- from the accounts of the ladies, it appears that Virginia was too scarred and furred by armies "to devote as much attention to the development of cloth making as did the other Southern States". Yet, her ladies, from Mrs. Davis entertaining in the "White House" of the Confederacy to the mountain woman in her small cabin, all proudly wore the homespun.

The making of hats was a favorite occupation of ingenious women. They took great pride in their

---

[18]Elizabeth Allen Cox, Memories of a South Carolina Plantation, 8.
Judith B. McGuire, op. cit., 185-196.

creations from rye or wheat straws, bulrushes, and palmetto reeds. The diaries and memdrs reveal that the women of the South were truly feminine in their interest in the "decorative arts" and love of finery- and managed to plume themselves in spite of the war and its problems. When a new hat was needed, the young lady would "plait her hat and that of her family and lover"- if she had the "bad taste to have a lover out of the army", but "surely", commented Mrs. Putman, "no girl had such a lover, unless he was incapacitated by sickness or wounds". They considered them beautiful, even though a "Parisian milliner might call them old-fashioned and laugh them to scorn". And, they were certainly preferred since they were Southern in creation, whereas a "Parisian style would have to come through Yankee-land".

Along with the making of cloth and clothes for the soldiers and women, the necessities of the men slaves were made on the plantations. Frequently, the men were sent about their business decked in colorful pants of brilliant clue, light purple or a bright yellow. The homespun shirts were of coarse weave, but were snowy white and extremely durable.

In addition to the task of clothing, the new Confed-

eracy, the women supervised the making of pottery dishes and cooking utensils from clay which was found near by; the substitutes that could be used in place of kerosene and for dyes and medicines. They made buttons from bone and wood; hoops for their balmorals were fashioned out of white oak or hickory splits; home made soaps, ink, delicious jam made with watermelon juice, starch from potatoes and other substitutions too numerous to mention.

The activities of the women were, by no means, restricted to working in their homes. They were found actively engaged in all phases of community life. In many cases the entire supervision of large plantations was ably performed by the mistresses, with the help of the many women whose husbands were in the army, and who found it "uphill work to card and spin enough to cloth a large family". The responsibilities of the communities were considered as individual responsibilities- and there were many.

Besides the numerous duties concerned with the home and community, the Southern women became a most important factor in caring for the needs of the soldiers. As will be told in a subsequent chapter, the boxes of sup-

plies sent from homes and local organizations were one of the most dependable sources of food and clothing throughout the entire war. According to the diarists, there were many companies completely outfitted by the women of their family or community. Mrs. Porcher of South Carolina made the uniforms for the entire company, consisting of eighty men, who had volunteered to serve under her son Julius Porcher:

> The wool from their own sheep was spun in the yard, and in the hot summer... the thick hanks of yarn which she dyed a Confederate gray were hanging in long lines between the pine trees. This was then woven on hand looms, and made by her and her seamstresses (slaves). She cut them all out herself... and the brass Confederate buttons were the only thing bought.[20]

The organization of Sewing Socities became a pupular movement in all communities. In many instances, they were formed by inexperienced women in an outburst of patriotic impulses, but soon they developed into a real unit of Confederate life and make an inter-

---

[20] Ibid., 12.

[illegible] from homes and local organizations were one [illegible] the entire war. According to the diarists, [illegible] companies completely outfitted by the [illegible] their family or community. Mrs. Porcher of [illegible]lina made the uniforms for the entire company, [illegible] eighty men, who had volunteered to serve [illegible]:

> The wool from their own sheep [illegible]s spun in the yard, and in the [illegible]ot summer... the thick hanks of [illegible]arn which she dyed a Confederate [illegible]ay were hanging in long lines [illegible]tween the pine trees. This was [illegible]en woven on hand looms, and [illegible]e by her and her seamstresses [illegible]laves). She cut them all out [illegible]erself... and the brass Confed-[illegible]rate buttons were the only thing bought.[20]

[illegible]nization of Sewing Societies became a popular [illegible] in all communities. In many instances, they [illegible]rmed by inexperienced women in an outburst [illegible] unit of Confederate life and make an inter-

esting chapter of Southern history. A complete record of these organizations would include hundreds of chapters, such as the "Campaign Sewing Society" of Baton Rouge; the society of Daughtery County, Georgia which met at the home of Judge Alexander Herrington, and the "Thimble Brigade" of Marion, South Carolina. The women of Petersburg, Virginia "resolved themsevles into a sewing society, not resting on Sunday". There, as in many communities, the sewing machines were placed in the churches, which became "depots for flannel, muslins, strong linens and uniform cloth". The workers were called to duty by the "ringing of the church bell". When assembled they "made everything which a soldier might possibly wear", and even sandbags which were to be used in constructing fortifications. A similar organization at Lynchburg, Virginia made ninety uniforms for a local company. Another at Decatur, Georgia, furnished the uniforms for the DeKalb Light Infantry.[26]

It was not the aim of the women working in such

---

[26]Mrs. Roger Pryor, Reminiscences, 131-132; Catherine Hopley Smith, op. cit., 11, 356; Mary Gay, Life in Dixie, 26.

organizations to take over the work of those actively engaged in activities of this type, "whether in mills or in the homes", but were purely aid societies. The ladies of the substantial and independent classes did not wish to do anything which would deprive the laboring class of their livlihood. "Nor did they," wrote a Richmond lady, "choose only the lighter work for themselves, while they permitted the heavier and more difficult to go to the poor." Instead, they undertook "heavy tents of cumbrous sail-cloth, overcoats, jackets, and pantaloons of stiff heavy materials." Because of the difficulty of sewing they were often found with "swollen, bleeding fingers, nevertheless, they persevered in that which they had undertaken".[22]

Menawhile, it is interesting to note the organizations were composed of women who were still women in war time, and that all of their feminine characteristics were not submerged by the magnitude of their arduous tasks. In the Society at Richmond, some of the finest and most loyal workers of the South

---

[22]Sallie B. Putnam, op. cit.,

were found and the following quotation is not intended as a criticism, but to add to the human touch, as seen by Mrs. Chestnut and recorded in her Diary:

> Mrs. Randolph[23] presided in all her beautiful majesty at the Aid Association. The ladies were all old and wanted their own way. They were cross-grained and contradictory, and the blood mounted rebelliously into Mrs. Randolph's clear cut cheeks, but she held her own with dignity and grace. One of the causes was that Mrs. Randolph proposed to divide everything sent equally with the Yankee wounded and sick prisoners. Some were enthusiastic from a Christian point of view, some shrieked in wrath at the base idea of putting our noble soldiers on a par with the Yankees, living, dying, or dead. Fierce were some of them August, severe matrons, who evidently had not been accustomed to hear the other side of any question from anybody, and just old enough to find the last pleasure in life to reside in power- the power to make their claws felt.[24]

Since one of the aims of this work is to present the Southern women as real women with the intelligence

---

[23]Mrs. Randolph, wife of the Minister of War, was one of the capitol's noted beauties and hostesses. She was a beauty of the "finest type of dark-eyed, rich and glowing Southern womenkind! clear brunette she is, with the reddest lips, the whitest teeth, and glowing eyes."

[24]Mary B. Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, 107-108.

[illegible] the following quotation is not inten-

[illegible]

[illegible]. Chestnut and recorded in her Diary:

> [illegible] beautiful majesty at the Aid Asso-
> ciation. The ladies were all old and
> [illegible] their own way. They were
> [illegible]-grained and contradictory, and
> [illegible] blood mounted rebelliously into
> [illegible]. Randolph's clear cut cheeks, but
> [illegible]e held her own with dignity and grace.
> [illegible]e of the causes was that Mrs. Ran-
> [illegible]olph proposed to divide everything
> [illegible]nt equally with the Yankee wounded
> [illegible]d sick prisoners. Some were antag-
> [illegible]ic from a Christian point of
> [illegible], some shrieked in wrath at the
> [illegible] idea of putting our noble soldiers
> [illegible] par with the Yankees, living,
> [illegible], or dead. Fierce were some of
> [illegible] August severe matrons, who evi-
> [illegible]ly had not been accustomed to
> hear the other side of any question
> from anybody, and just old enough to
> find the last pleasure in life to
> [illegible]
> their claws felt.[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]. Randolph, wife of the Minister of War, was [illegible] of [illegible]capitol's noted beauties and hostesses. She [illegible] a beauty of the "finest type of dark-eyed, [illegible] [illegible]ing Southern womenkind! clear brunette she is, [illegible] reddest lies, the whitest teeth, and glowing [illegible].

[illegible]

and courage to grasp the realities of the war days, and the ability to adapt themselves to the changing times in which they lived, instead of the traditional sentimental picture of an unnatural and exalted nobility, the writer has included critical quotations and comments as well as praise and eulogies.

There were many hours which were not spent in caring for the needs of the soldiers, and often the feminine enthusiasms would turn from uniforms to gun-boats. A British subject, who was interned in the South by the the blockade and who was a very intelligent and keen observer of life in the South, wrote in 1862:

> At this time there was a furore throughout the Confederacy for "Ladies gun-boat funds". Having supplied the soldiers with winter clothing and used up all the flannels, cloths and wools that were procurable... their attention was turned to gunboats. In Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, Mobile and Richmond, as well as other places, the ladies were forming societies for this object. One saw colums and columns of names and suscriptions acknowledged in the paper. Also lists of money, plate and jewelry which had been donated.[25]

---

[25]Catherine Hopley Smith, op. cit., 11, 257.

[illegible] to grasp the realities of the war-ways, [illegible] to adapt themselves to the changing [illegible] they lived, instead of the traditional [illegible] [illegible] has included critical quotations [illegible] as well as praise and eulogies.

[illegible] many hours which were not spent in caring [illegible] of the soldiers, and often the feminine [illegible] could turn from uniforms to gun-boats. A [illegible] subject, who was interned in the South [illegible] and who was a very intelligent and [illegible]

> [illegible] this time there was a furore throughout the Confederacy for "Ladies gun-boat funds". Having supplied the [illegible] with winter clothing and [illegible] up all the [illegible], clothing and [illegible] that were procurable... Their [illegible] was turned to gunboats. In [illegible]ston, Savannah, New Orleans, [illegible]le and Richmond, as well as other [illegible], the ladies were forming societies for this object. One saw columns and columns of names and subscriptions acknowledged in the paper. Also lists of money, plate and jewelry which had been donated.[25]

[illegible] Hopley Smith, op. cit., 11, 257.

The ladies of Charleston, South Carolina raised the funds for a gunboat by donations, fairs and benefits. At the fair, the raffled off handsome young Lieutenant Tom Ferguson who brought an exorbitantly high price. As a matter of fact, he came so expensive that none of the Charlestons maids could compete with a wealthy young lady from Columbia who seemed determined to outbid them for the dashing young Lieutenant.[26] It was a proud day for the Charleston ladies when their gunboat christened the Chicora succeeded in sinking two of the Federal boats which were blockading the harbor.

At Richmond, in order to raise funds a Defense Association organization was formed. The funds were raised by personal donations and sacrifices, including heirlooms, plate and jewels. A string of favorite pearls were given by Mrs. Chestnut and a friend gave her most prized silver pot. As a reward for their efforts, the gunboat Richmond was constructed and was actively engaged in protecting the coast of Virginia.

---

[26]Elizabeth Allan Cox, op. cit., 14.

A brilliant bazaar was held in the Saint Louis hotel, by the ladies of New Orleans. Included in the list of articles put up for sale were jewelry, vases, clocks, watches, pianos, china, and even such commodities as coal and groceries. In this way over sixty thousand dollars were raised to be used "judiciously in purchasing necessities". [27]

Every city and community had its benefits in the form of concerts, musicales, tableaux and plays. These events were the most popular and universaal feature of the social life of the South- to be escorted by the soldier of her choice to one of the performances was the secret desire of all the young ladies; and no matter how stern the parent, permission could scarcely be denied for so worthy a cause. Thus, according to the diaries, many a romance developed under the name of fund-raising.

But all the women's participation in public life was not confined to feminine organizations and social activities. For, in the numerous departments of the

---

[27] Marian Southwood, Beauty and Booty, 14.

[illegible] bazaar was held in the Saint Louis hotel, [illegible] of New Orleans. Included in the list of articles put up for sale were jewelry, vases, clocks, [illegible], pianos, chins, and even such commodities as [illegible] groceries. In this way over sixty thousand [illegible] were raised to be used "judiciously in purchasing commodities".[27]

[illegible] and community had its benefits in the form of [illegible], musicales, [illegible] and [illegible]. These [illegible] were the most popular and universal feature of the social life of the South- to be escorted by the [illegible] of her choice to one of the performances was [illegible] desire of all the young ladies; and no [illegible] the parent, permission could scarcely [illegible] for so worthy a cause. Thus, according to [illegible]

[illegible] the women's participation in public life [illegible] confined to feminine organizations and social [illegible]. For, in the numerous departments of the

---

[27] [illegible]an Southwood, Beauty and Booty, 14.

of the Confederate government, women found new opportunities to prove their abilities as clerks. At first they were employed to sign the notes in the Treasury department; then, before long, the practice was extended to other departments. Their services were found both efficient and useful. Because of their ability to fill in the vacancies, young men were able to enlist in the ranks of field service. Excellent commendations for the conscientiousness shown in their works were recorded by the heads of the various departments. The clerks were not conscripted, but were chosen from applicants who anxiously sought the positions. The "girls and myself" wrote an anxious matron of Virginia, "are very anxious to get work from the Government... anything to assist in supporting ourselves; but we have tried in vain... for there are so many who have a higher claim to anything that the Government can do for them".[28] Eventually, she was appointed to a clerkship in the commissary department at a salary of one-hundred and twenty dollars a month. There were twenty ladies in the department, representing all ages and states. In 1864

---

[28]Judith B. McGuire, Diary of a Southern Refugee, 250.

[illegible] rate government, women found new oppor-
[illegible] their abilities as clerks. At first
[illegible] ed to sign the notes in the Treasury
[illegible]
[illegible] departments. Their services were found both
[illegible] useful. Because of their ability to fill
[illegible] ies, young men were able to enlist in the
[illegible] service. Excellent commendations for
[illegible] ousness shown in their works were recorded
[illegible]
[illegible] scripted, but were chosen from applicants
[illegible] sought the positions. The "girls and
[illegible] anxious matron of Virginia, "are very
[illegible] t work from the Government... anything
[illegible] supporting ourselves; but we have tried
[illegible] for there are so many who have a higher
[illegible]
[illegible], she was appointed to a clerkship in the com-
[illegible] ment at a salary of one-hundred and twen-
[illegible] month. There were twenty ladies in the de-
[illegible], representing all ages and states. In 1864

[illegible] B. McGuire, Diary of a Southern Refugee, 250.

their salaries were raised to two hundred and fifty dollars.[29] A distinguished lady, Mrs. Bartow, the widow of Colonel Bartow killed at Manassas, was employed in the Treasury department at a salary of five hundred Confederate dollars a year.[30] In order to receive an appointment, a woman had to furnish testimonials of intelligence and character "of a supreme moral worth" and to pass an arithmetic test.[31]

As to be expected, with the increase of factories and the more inclusive conscription laws, the South experienced a critical labor shortage. In the laboratories and munition factories established on the Island near Richmond and in similar manufacturies throughout the Confederacy, large numbers of women were employed. Often times the women worked without wages.[32]

In discussing the conditions in the South, the far reaching effects of the blockade stand out over the mass of problems that faced the new nation. By a series of

---

[29] Ibid., 252.

[30] Mary B. Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, 166.

[31] Sallie Brock Putnam, op. cit., 174-175.

[32] Mrs. Irby Morgan, op. cit., 104.

proclamations beginning April 19, 1861, Lincoln had closed Southern ports to all but the professional blockade runners. Almost instantly, the lower South began to feel its effects and by the beginning of 1862 the entire Confederacy realized the seriousness of the blockade. It was during the winter of 1861 that Richmond began to see that "groceries are becoming scarce and high in price." The extraordinary increase in prices was first noticed in the prices demanded for coffee. An old lady, one of the most famous of the distinguished housewives in Virginia, said in 1861:

> Only think! Coffee is now thirty cents a pound, and my grocer tells me I must buy at once, or very soon we shall have to pay double that price. Shameful! why even in the War of 1812 we had not to pay higher than sixty cents. And now! so soon we must do without it, except when needed for the sick... If we cant make some of the various proposed substitutes appetizing, why we can use water. Thank God! no blockade can restrict the supply of that.[33]

If this conscientious economist could have foreseen

---

[33]Hudith B.McGuire, op. cit., 81-83.

[illegible] to all but the professional blockade runners. Almost instantly, the lower South began to feel its effects and by the beginning of 1862 the entire Confederacy realized the seriousness of the blockade. It was during the winter of [illegible] that "groceries are becoming scarce and high in price." The extraordinary increase in prices was first noticed in the prices demanded for coffee. An old lady, one of the most famous of the diaries [illegible] said in 1861:

> Only think! Coffee is now thirty cents a pound, and my grocer tells me I must buy at once, or very soon we shall have to pay double that price. Shameful! Why even in the War of 1812 we had not to pay higher than sixty cents. And now! so soon we must do without it, except when needed for the sick... If we can't make some of the various proposed substitutes appetizing, why we can use water. Thank God! no blockade can restrict the supply of that.[22]

If this conscientious economist could have foreseen

[illegible]

that, at a future day, the cost of coffee would be fifty dollars a pound, she would not have grudgingly paid the grocer his exorbitant demand of fifty cents. During the war, coffee was a luxury that not even the most wealthy could constantly possess. For the majority of the Southerners, some substitute such as rye, wheat, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, ground peas, chestnuts, chicory, ochre, and sorghum seed, was parched and blended to take the place of coffee.

Teas, wines and imported liquors increased rapidly in price as the supply grew scarce, but not at the same rate as coffee, which was more universally used. The leaves of currant, blackberry, willow, sage and vegetables were dried and used as substitutes for tea by those who either could not or else did not feel justified in encouraging the exorbitant demands of the blockade runners and speculators.

Since the Federal government had declared medicines contraband of war, the Confederacy was forced to resort to blockade running in order to obtain as much as possible of the sorely needed supplies. Again, even in this serious business, the women were able to aid. In spite of the fact that the style and foibles of the feminine sex have

[illegible] day, the cost of coffee would be fifty [illegible] she would not have grudgingly paid the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

been a favorite subject of ridicule and considered pronounced examples of absurdity, they have been useful. Luckily, fashion had decreed the balmorals and the "bishops" the mode of the sixties. For, it was definitely established by the diarists that they were most convenient for concealing contraband, as the fair wearer came through the lines. Along with medicines, other needed articles were carried by the women. A most interesting story was told by the wife of a Confederate officer, who in order to get material for a new uniform for her handsome husband, ran the blockade. After varied and exciting experiences, she and her mother arrived at Baltimore. The purchases were soon made. A sympathetic tailor cut the materials into lengths which he fashioned into balmorals- cutting it carefully in order not to injure its future use as a Confederate uniform! The buttons, lace, and braid were sewed in the linings. Still the fashions of the day furthered their plans. Around their necks, the ladies were wearing long plaid scarfs which fell in long ends in front. The Confederate bride bought seven yards of fine, soft flannel of stylish plaid which she cut into two lengths. Her "mother", she wrote "being quite tall," could wear a large scarf- longer than herself,

[illegible] favorite subject of ridicule and considered pro-
[illegible]
[illegible], fashion had decreed the balmorals and the "bishops"
[illegible] sisties. For, it was definitely established
[illegible] dietists that they were most convenient for con-
[illegible] raband, as the fair weaker came through the
[illegible]. Along with medicines, other needed articles were
[illegible] the women. A most interesting story was told
[illegible]
[illegible] material for a new uniform for her handsome husband,
[illegible] blockade. After varied and exciting experiences,
[illegible] her mother arrived at Baltimore. The purchases
[illegible] made. A sympathetic tailor cut the materials
[illegible] which he fashioned into balmorals- cutting
[illegible] in order not to injure its future use
[illegible] Confederate uniform! The buttons, lace, and braid
[illegible] in the linings. Still the fashions of the
[illegible] their plans. Around their necks, the
[illegible] were wearing long plaid scarfs which fell in long
[illegible] in front. The Confederate bride bought seven
[illegible] of fine, soft flannel of stylish plaid which she
[illegible] two lengths. Her "mother", she wrote "being
[illegible]," could wear a large scarf- longer than herself,

and between them they managed to "carry around their necks two good shirts for Dan".[34]

Another lady told of her friend, who arrived from Washington, with a pair of cavalry boots and hat tied up under her hoops. There were more than six hundred women, according to Mrs. McLure, who were "smuggling in contraband, and many gray travelling dresses are now in camp, decking the person of a Confederate soldier-having undergone a transformation into jacket and pants".[35]

From April 1861 to the end of the war, coastal blockade running was an exciting, profitable and necessary business. All types of privately armed ships had responded to the proclamation of President Davis, inviting application for letters of marque and reprisal. However, it is not the privilege of this work to relate the story of, as one author called them, the Confederate Privateers.[36] In speaking of some of the ventures which were made to furnish the needed articles on a strictly

---

[34]Myrta Lockett Avary, A Virginia Girl in Civil War, 171.

[35]Judith P. McGuire, op. cit., 184.

[36]William Morrison Robinson, The Confederate Privateers

[illegible] good shirts for Dan".[34]

[illegible] in [illegible] lecking the person of a Confederate soldier-having [illegible]

From April 1861 to the end of the war, coastal [illegible] was an exciting, profitable and necessary business. All types of [illegible] to the proclamation of President Davis, inviting [illegible] for letters of marque and reprisal. However, it is not the privilege of this work to relate the story of, as one author called them, the Confederate Privateers.[36] In speaking of some of the ventures which were made [illegible]

---

[34] Myrta Lockett Avary, A Virginia Girl in Civil War, 171.

[35] [illegible], op. [illegible].

[36] William Morrison Robinson, The Confederate Privateers

non-profit basis, and the purely patriotic motive of some of the blockade runners, a young girl from South Carolina related the following:

> Mr. John Darby, of the Confederate Medical staff, was sent to Paris by the government to purchase artificial legs for the Confederate hospitals. This blockade runner was carrying cotton which was to be converted into gold when he arrived in Europe. He was gone for two months, finally his boat arrived at Wilmington, N. C. after successfully eluding his pursuers. He (Dr. Darby) brought with him dresses, cloths, writing paper, books, music, sewing materials, medicines, and seented soaps which ruined the tea. His most cherished purchase was a maginficent uniform in which he was to be married. Also he had brought General Hood a riding, walking and sitting leg.[37]

But, all bloakade ventures were not prompted by patriotic and non-profit motives. There were, according

---

[37]Elizabeth Allen Coxe, op. cit., 8. Dr. Darby of Hampton's Legion had been professot of the Medical College of Philadelphia. He resigned to enter service of the Confederacy.

Soon after his return from Europe he married Mary Preston of South Carolina. The bride, wrote Mrs. Chestnut, "walked up the aisle on her father's arm, Mrs. Preston on Dr. Darby's. I think it was the handsomest wedding party I ever saw, John Darby had brought his wedding uniform home with him from England and it did all honor to his perfect figure."

After the war, Dr. Darby became a professor of surgery in the University of the City of New York.

[illegible] and the purely patriotic motive of [illegible] blockade runners, a young girl from South [illegible]:

[illegible]. John Darby, of the Confederate [illegible] national staff, was sent to Paris by [illegible] government to purchase artificial [illegible] for the Confederate hospitals. [illegible] was entrusted with [illegible] cotton which was to be converted into gold when he arrived in Europe. [illegible] was gone for two months, finally [illegible] boat arrived at Wilmington, N. C. [illegible] after successfully eluding his pursuers. [illegible] Dr. Darby) brought with him drugs, [illegible], writing paper, books, music, [illegible] materials, medicines, and assorted [illegible] which ruined the ten. His most [illegible] purchase was a magnificent [illegible] in which he was to be married. [illegible] had brought General Hood a [illegible], walking and sitting log."

[illegible]. All blockade ventures were not prompted by patriotic and non-profit motives. There were, according

---

[illegible] Allen Coxe, op. cit., p. [illegible]. [illegible] had been professor of the Medical [illegible]. He resigned to enter service of [illegible].

After his return from Europe he married Mary [illegible] of South Carolina. The bride, wrote Mrs. Burnett, "walked up the aisle on her father's arm, Mrs. [illegible] Dr. Darby. I never saw, John Darby had brought his wedding [illegible] home with him from England and it did all [illegible] his perfect figure."

After the war, Dr. Darby became a professor of surgery [illegible] the University of the City of New York.

to the diarists, lamentable conditions in connection with the practice. A wild spirit of speculation was produced. In all the Southern states, and especially the coastal cities and towns, the wares which had escaped Federal capture were sold at public auction for fabulous prices. The arrival of the merchant with his goods was a real event in the community life, and purchases were found for the silks, satins, laces, brandy, rum, shoes, ammunition, medicines, sugar, coffee, and tea.

As to be expected, there were many Jews in the new merchant class. However, there were Southerners who prompted by the desire to gain of wealth were actively engaged in the practice. This class of merchants established a profitable business of running their wares through the lines. They were assisted by partners in Baltimore and other cities. Too, capitalizing their feminine cleverness, many women were useful helpers in the business and successfully smuggled in many articles which were sold at exorbitant prices. In commenting on such conditions, the self-sacrificing, patriotic, outraged Southerner wondered "whether it was in the power of Congress to correct these evils", entailed upon them or did it "lack the moral courage to pass stringent laws

against such abuses."[38]

From the summer of 1861, Richmond became the center of the commercial life of the Confederacy. Consequently, merchants from parts of the South moved their wares to Richmond. At that time the warehouses, vacant buildings, etc. were used as hospitals and government buildings, so the "stores" of the new merchants were largely of the curb variety. The first stocks of silks, laces, all kinds of delicate and rich materials, silver plate, jewels, and even personal wardrobe were sold at the auctions. Following such practises, the economic set-up at Richmond underwent a marked change. This mercantile revolution was the beginning of the new economic era in the Southern states. In describing the new life, one of the best feminine writers on the economic conditions of the war period wrote that:

> One could almost have imagined being in a strange city from the signs over the doors of the shops. Old establishments had closed out or had entered into other branches of business, and new firms placed their names before the public. Israel and David, and Moses and Jacob

---

[38] Sallie B. Putnam, op. cit., 202-207.

[illegible]

[illegible] of the commercial life of the Confederacy. Consequently, merchants from parts of the South moved their wares to Richmond. At that time the warehouses, vacant buildings, [illegible] hospitals and government buildings, [illegible] of the new merchants were largely of the [illegible]. The first stocks of silks, laces, all [illegible], and even personal wardrobe were sold at the auctions. [illegible] practises, the economic set-up at Richmond [illegible] a marked change. This mercantile revolution [illegible] beginning of the new economic era in the [illegible]. In describing the new life, one of [illegible] feminine writers on the economic conditions [illegible] period wrote that:

> One could almost have imagined being in a strange city from the [illegible] over the doors of the shops. [illegible] establishments had closed out [illegible] entered into other branches [illegible] business, and new firms placed their names before the public. Israel and David, and Moses and Jacob

---

[illegible] B. Putnam, op. cit., 202-207.

> and Hyman and Levy, and Guggenheimer and Rosenheimer, and other ancient people, instead of the old Anglo-Saxon firms, became the capitalists of Richmond and the Rothschilds of the South.[39]

The Confederacy was faced with a serious currency problem. The paper money issued by the Congress began to depreciate. Naturally, a rise in prices would follow the depreciation, speculation and scarcity. In a short time, the high prices, although they varied in sections, created an acute situation. The approaching crisis was first observed, said a Richmond lady, in the increased prices placed upon goods of domestic manufactures- "Cotton and woolen goods soon brought double ... and even before there was a general circulation of the money issued by the Confederate Treasury."[40] In 1862, at Richmond, articles were selling at the following prices: coffee at four dollars a pound; tea, at eighteen dollars; butters, at two dollars, and muslin, at eight dollars a yard. In 1863, as prices continued to rise, a lady feared that the time was approaching

---

[39] Ibid., 105.

[40] Ibid., 105.

when "as in the old Revolution, a man had to give three hundred dollars for his breakfast."[41]

In order to meet the excessive demands and enormous prices placed on articles of food and war supplies, the Confederate Congress authorized a heavy increase in the circulation. This attempt to improve the situation only increased the depreciation and prices continued to soar. In 1864, an exchange of sixteen thousand dollars of Confederate bills was made for three hundred dollars in gold.[42] In Mississippi, flour was selling at three hundred dollars a barrel; shoes at fifty dollars per pair; and butter from fifteen to forty dollars a pound. The above quoted prices were the Confederate money quotation, but it must be borne in mind, as the wife of a Mississippi planter explained, that "each Confederate dollar represented in many families what had been a dollar in specie... and the income no larger than what it had been in gold.[43]

---

[41]Judith B. McGuire, op. cit., 191.

[42]Mary B. Chestnut, Diary from Dixie, 342

[43]Susan Dabney Smedes, Memorials of a Southern Planter, 224. Mrs. Dabney was the daughter of Smith Gregory Dabney who was related to the Washingtons, Marshalls, Amblers, Pages, Carys, and many more notable Virginia families. Her mother was Mary Adelaide Tyler, daughter of Chancellor of William and Mary. In 1835, the Dabney family migrated to Hinds County, Mississippi. Thomas Dabney became master of the extensive plantation "Burleigh". He became a power in the political, social, and economic life of the state. He accumulated a large fortune as well as a large family of sixteen children.

(continued, page)

[illegible] the old Revolution, a man had to give [illegible] dollars for his breakfast."[41]

[illegible] to meet the excessive demands and enormous [illegible] placed on articles of food and war supplies, [illegible] Confederate Congress authorized a heavy increase in [illegible]lation. This attempt to improve the situation [illegible] the depreciation and prices continued [illegible]. In 1864, an exchange of sixteen thousand [illegible] of Confederate bills was made for three hundred dollars in gold.[42] In Mississippi, flour was selling at three hundred dollars a barrel; shoes at fifty [illegible] and butter from fifteen to forty [illegible] a pound. The above quoted prices were the Con[illegible] [illegible] Confederate dollar represented in many families [illegible]...[illegible]

---

[41] [illegible]ith B. McGuire, op. cit., 191.

[42] [illegible]y B. Chestnut, Diary from Dixie, 342

[43] [illegible]an Dabney Smedes, Memorials of a Southern Planter, [illegible]. Mrs. Dabney was the daughter of Smith Gregory Dabney [illegible] related to the Washingtons, Marshalls, Amblers, [illegible], Carys, and many more notable Virginia families. Her [illegible] was Mary Adelaide Tyler, daughter of Chancellor of [illegible] and Mary. In 1835, the Dabney family migrated to [illegible] County, Mississippi. Thomas Dabney became master of [illegible] extensive plantation "Burleigh". He became a power in the political, social, and economic life of the state. He accumulated a large fortune as well as a large family of [illegible].

(continued, page)

In an attempt to curb further fise of prices and speculation, the Department of War issued, on September 26, 1864 the following price list:

Bacon,	$2.50	per pound
Frash Beef	$70.00	" "
Flour	$40.00	" barrel
Meal	$4.00	" bushel
Sugar	$3.00	" pound
Coffee	$6.00	" "
Salt	$.30	" "

In attempts to solve their personal financial problems, many Southerners resorted to barter. In her story of Dixie during the War, Mrs. Gay told how she searched the battle fields for lead, bullets and minie balls which she used in exchange for sugar, coffee and flour, meal and lard. A lady from Mississippi described the happenings around the McGhee factory near Woodville, Mississippi on the days when they were selling cloth in exchange

---

43(continued)Belonging to the conservative group which opposed secession, nevertheless after the war had actually begun, he "espoused the side of the South with all the enthusiasms of his nature... and originated the schemem for the Confederate government to raise money by getting out bonds on the basis of the cotton then in the hands of the planters.

After the war, the Dabney family suffered days of dire distress and poverty.

[illegible] to curb further rise of prices and specu-
lation, the Department of War issued, on September 26, 1864
[illegible] price list:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fresh Beef	$70.00	"	"
Flour	$40.00	"	barrel
[illegible]	[illegible].00	"	bushel
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

In attempts to solve their personal financial problems, [illegible] resorted to barter. In her story of [illegible], Mrs. Gay told how she searched the [illegible] for lead, bullets and minie balls which [illegible] and lead. [illegible] the McGhee factory near Woodville, Mississippi on the days when they were selling cloth in exchange

---

[illegible] nevertheless after the war had actually [illegible], he [illegible] the side of the South with all the [illegible] of his nature... and originated the schemes for [illegible] basis of the cotton then in the hands of the [illegible].
[illegible]

for meat and lard. They were "curious scenes of interest, when all kinds and classes of people mingled together with the common desire to obtain cloth."[44]

As barter became the accepted medium of exchange in the rural sections, some of the planters of the lower South fell back on their stock of English exchange. For example, according to Mrs. Beaumont, who kept a mercantile establishment at Woodville, the merchants would take the English exchange in trade, and pay in proportion the balance in greenbacks for the immediate use of the customers. Then, they would send the English exchange to New Orleans to have them forwarded to England to be accredited to their accounts.

Along with the other disasters of 1863, the repercussions of the scarcity of food and the soaring of prices were felt, especially in the cities. At Richmond, the desire for food and a general dissatisfaction was expressed in a "bread riot". A heterogenous mob of men, women and children marched through the streets and emptied the

---

[44]Mrs. B. Baaumont, Twelve Years of My Life, 186-87.

[illegible]. They were "curious scenes of interest, [illegible] and classes of people mingled together with [illegible] common desire to obtain cloth."[44]

[illegible] the accepted medium of exchange in [illegible] fell back on their stock of English exchange. For [illegible] establishment at Woodville, the merchants would take [illegible] greenbacks for the immediate use of the customers. [illegible], they would send the English exchange to New Orleans [illegible] them forwarded to England to be accredited [illegible].

Along with the other disasters of 1863, the repercussions of the scarcity of food and the soaring of prices were felt, especially in the cities. At Richmond, the desire for food and a general dissatisfaction was expressed in a "bread riot". A heterogenous mob of men, women and children [illegible] through the streets and emptied the

---

[44] [illegible] Beaumont, Twelve Years of My Life, 186-[illegible].

stores of food, clothing and arms. As usual in such happenings, a number of the mod were really sincere in their desire for "bread only"; however their purpose was defeated by a large group of thievish brigands and undesirables who joined the march. Luckily, for the worthy members, President Davis appealed before the mob and succeeded in dispersing them before the assembled militia had been ordered to fire on them.

As a matter of fact, the want of bread was becoming critical, but some of the most needy cases were not in the mob. The real sufferers were found among the "most worthy and highly cultivated of our citizens" explained Sallie Brock Putnam, "who by the suspension of the ordinary branches of business, and the extreme inflation in the prices of provisions, were often reduced to abject suffering". The ladies were forced to dispose of all articles of taste and luxury to meet the demands of everyday life" and examples of dire poverty and distress existed among the pre-war wealthy class. They bore the brunt of the war, with an unfaltering loyalty to the cause. In the beginning "buoyed with the hope and belief that their suffering would be of short duration and that an honourable independence would compensate", they submitted cheerfully to

[illegible] of food, clothing and arms. As usual in such hap-
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] joined the march. Luckily, for the worthy members,
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] to fire on them.

As a matter of fact, the want of bread was becoming
critical, but some of the most needy cases were not in
the [illegible]. The real sufferers were found among the "most
[illegible] and highly cultivated of our citizens" explained
Hallie Brock Putnam, "who by the suspension of the ordi-
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]". The ladies [illegible]
of taste and luxury to meet the demands of everyday life"
and [illegible] of dire poverty and distress existed among the
[illegible] wealthy class. They bore the brunt of the war,
with an unfaltering loyalty to the cause. In the begin-
ning "[illegible] with the hope and belief that their suffering
would be of short duration and that an honourable indepen-
[illegible] would compensate", they submitted cheerfully to

their deprivations. As the years became more difficult, they were carried on by the thought that they had given their best to a "right cause evem if a lost cause".[45]

It is fitting that a brief mention of conditions in one of the captured cities be included in this chapter. As always, a city in the hands of an enemy means indescribable hardships for the citizens who had resisted the occupation of the invaders. And so it was in New Orleans after the capture by Admiral Farragut.Days and nights of confusion, excitement, fear and wrath preceded the demand for surrender; everywhere the gutters were overflowing with molasses- the citizens had opened hundreds of barrels rather than allow the invaders to have them; the cotton on the wharves had been set on fire; steamboats on the rivers were in flames, and the unfinished Louisiana had been set afire and turned adrift.

The whole city was outraged over the non-resistant surrender and the hoisting of the United States flag on the Custom House, Post Office, and Mint. The demand for surrender had been readily complied with by the Confederate General. Following these events, General Butler arrived

---

[45]Sallie Brock Putnam, op. cit., 78-81.

their deprivations. As the years became more difficult, they were buried on by the thought that they had given their head to a "right cause even if a lost cause".[45]

It is fitting that a brief mention of conditions in one of the captured cities be included in this chapter. As always, a city in the hands of an enemy means indescribable hardship for the citizens [illegible] the occupation of the invaders. And so it was in New Orleans after the capture by Admiral Farragut. Days and nights of confusion, excitement, [illegible] the surrender; everywhere the gutters were overflowing with molasses- the citizens had opened hundreds of barrels [illegible] than allow the invaders to have them; the cotton on the wharves had been set on fire; steamboats on the rivers were in flames, and the unfinished [illegible] had been set afire and turned adrift.

The whole city was outraged over the non-resistant surrender and the hoisting of the United States flag on the Custom House, Post Office, and Mint. The demand for surrender had been readily complied with by the Confederate General. Following these events, General Butler arrived

---

[45] Hallie Brock Putnam, op. cit., 74-51.

on May 1, 1862 to take command of the surrendered city. The citizens shuddered when they saw Butler and "the triumphant and pompous strut of the Yankees and heard the music". Because of "Yankee actions" their indignation Wknew no bounds nor knew no language gross enough to accost him with... every epithet which could be applied to the vilest were heaped upon them".

Shortly after his arrival, General Butler issued a proclamation which the editor of the True Delta refused to print. In answer to his refusal, Butler ordered the office closed except to his military squad which were to print the proclamation.

The conditions under "Beast" Butler's regime, which followed the issuance of the proclamation[46] were extremely distressing to the peoples of New Orleans and humiliating to the entire Confederacy. All foods and supplies were scarce; the trades and professions were idle. The homes and property of those refusing to take an oath of loyalty

---

[46]By the proclamation, General Butler demanded: military law established; all Confederates to surrender; Confederate flags suppressed; citizens to take oath of allegiance; all public property to be turned over to the military; shops, business and amusement houses to keep open; military courts established; acceptance of Confederate bonds forbidden; censoring of newspapers and telegraph; assemblage of citizens forbidden; all loyal Confederates registered as enemies; no trade allowed with citizens who had not taken oath; funds in bank of Confederates seized; ministers had to pray for the President of the United States.

[illegible] May 1, 1862 to take command of the surrendered city. The citizens shuddered when they saw Butler and "the [illegible] pompous strut of the Yankees and heard the [illegible]". Because of "Yankee actions" their indignation [illegible] no bounds nor knew no language gross enough to [illegible] him with... every epithet which could be applied [illegible].

Shortly after his arrival, General Butler issued a proclamation which the editor of the True Delta refused to print. In answer to his refusal, Butler ordered the office closed except to his military squad which were to print the proclamation.

The conditions under "[illegible]" [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the issuance of the proclamation[46] were extremely distressing to the peoples of New Orleans and humiliating to the entire Confederacy. All foods and supplies were [illegible]; the trades and professions were idle. The homes and property of those refusing to take an oath of loyalty

---

[46] [illegible] the proclamation, General Butler demanded: military law established; all Confederates to surrender; Confederate flags suppressed; citizens to take oath of allegiance; all public property to be turned over to the military; shops, business and amusement houses to keep open; military courts established; [illegible]; [illegible] of newspapers and telegraph; assemblage of citizens forbidden; all loyal Confederates registered as enemies; no trade allowed with citizens who had not taken oath; funds in bank of Confederates seized; ministers had to pray for the President of the United States.

were confiscated. Besides, everywhere "robbery, rioting and house burning marked the stay of the Yankees".

In looking around for a suitable home, General and Mrs. Butler visited several of the fine old mansions of New Orleans before they found one which pleased them. Eventually, they selected the home of General Twiggs. It was from this mansion that General Butler issued the famous orders of military rule. The shameful order known as "Order Number 28" stated that,

> As the officers and soldiers of the United States had been subjected to insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans in return for the most scrupulous non interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that, hereafter, when any female by gesture of movement insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to to be treated as a woman of the town playing her profession.[47]

The fall of New Orleans was the most disastrous blow suffered by the South during the first years of the Con-

---

[47] J. L. Underwood, Women of the Confederacy, 140; Julia LeGrand, Journal, 80; Sarah Dawson Morgan, A Confederate Girl's Diary; Marian Southward, Beauty and Booty.
General Twigg was the possessor of three swords which had been given him by Congress, Georgia and by Augusta. These trophies were carried away by General Butler and were not returned to their owner until a suit in the Supreme Court of the United States. This suit was conducted by the Honorable John Randolph Tucker.

[illegible] Besides, everywhere "robbery, rioting [illegible]

[illegible] selected the home of General Twiggs. It [illegible] this mansion that General Butler issued the famous [illegible] military rule. The shameful order known as "[illegible] 28" stated that,

> [illegible] the officers and soldiers of the United States had been subjected to insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans in return for the most scrupulous non interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that, [illegible]fter, when any female by gesture of movement insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, [illegible] shall be regarded and held liable to [illegible] treated as a woman of the town [illegible] her profession.[17]

[illegible] of New Orleans was the most disastrous blow [illegible] South during the first years of the Con-

---

[17] [illegible] was the possessor of three [illegible] which had [illegible] carried away by General Butler and were not [illegible] their owner until a suit in the Supreme Court of the United States. This suit was conducted by the Honor-[illegible]

federacy. The War Department was severely criticised for its action or rather lack of action in the whole affair. It had badly blundered in providing a defense and the women expressed the common belief that New Orleans had been grossly neglected. They accused the War Department of leaving her defense largely to the "Confederate Guard" which they had considered a "sort of holiday regiment", composed of the 'well-to-do' old men of the city, who were anxious to show their patriotism on the parade ground, but who had never expected to fight".[48]

With the fall of New Orleans, other cities and towns of the lower Mississippi Valley were laid open to attack. The deprivations and suffering of the inhabitants of Vicksburg make too long a story to relate here. As is well known, the city was under siege for several months. During the period, many of the citizens, especially the women and children, lived in caves to escape the destruction of the continuous bombardment. For months, the supply of food was

---

[48]Julia LeGrand, Journal, 80. Miss LeGrand was the daughter of Claudius F. LeGrand and Anna Maria Croxall of "Portland Manor" Maryland. In the early thirties, the family moved to Louisiana. At one time, they possessed immense wealth but through mismanagement lost their entire fortune.
Considered by many one of the most scholarly women in the city, Miss Julia opened a select school for girls in New Orleans. During the war she endured great hardships, because of her stubbornness in refusing to take an oath of loyalty.

[illegible] rather lack of action in the whole night.
[illegible] splendidly [illegible] in providing a defense and the
[illegible] generally neglected. They accused the War Department of
[illegible] the defense largely to the "Confederate Guard" which
[illegible] considered a "sort of holiday regiment", composed
[illegible] of the 'well-to-do' old men of the city, who were anxious
[illegible] to play [illegible] on the parade ground, but who [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

so scarce that a dinner of peas and meal was considered a luxury. While the prolonged siege lasted, the women dwelling in the caves made the hospital supplies and cared for the sick and wounded. They continued to live under such difficulties, even after the surrender to General Grant in July, 1863.[49]

Indescribable trials and hardships were experienced by the inhabitants of Richmond, Baton Rouge,[50] Atlanta, Savannah, Memphis, Mobile and other cities when occupied by the Federal forces. Besides the dangers of fire, and shell, they faced starvation, disease, lawlessness, rioting,

---

[49]Mrs. Mary Loughboroughs, My Cave Life in Vicksburg.

[50]Sarah Morgan Dawson, A Confederate Girl's Diary.
Sarah was the daughter of Judge Thpmas Gibbs Morgan, a former collector of the Port of New Orleans, and in 1861 was Judge of the District Coutt of the Parish at Baton Rouge. In complete sympathy of Southern rights, he disapproved of secession but decided for it when his state seceded. He died before the arrival of Farragut's fleet. Her eldest brother Philip was a judge in New Orleans. He declared for the Union, but refused to bear arms against his three brothers and friends. Later, he assisted in ending the reconstruction rule.
In 1874, Sarah, the author of one of the most interesting and lively of the diaries kept by young ladies, married a young Englishman, Captain Francis Warrington Dawson, who had served the Confederacy. Her husband became the editor of the News and Courier of Charleston, which, under his guidance, became an important political, social and economic influence in the work of rebuilding the South.

[illegible] that a dinner of peas and meal was considered a [illegible]. While the prolonged siege lasted, the women [illegible] caves made the hospital supplies and cared [illegible] wounded. They continued to live under [illegible] [illegible] 1863.[49]

[illegible] trials and hardships were experienced by [illegible] of Richmond, Baton Rouge,[50] Atlanta, Savan-[illegible], Memphis, Mobile and other cities when occupied by the [illegible]. Besides the dangers of fire, and shell, [illegible]

---

[49] Mrs. Mary Loughborough, My Cave Life in Vicksburg.

[50] Sarah Morgan Dawson, A Confederate Girl's Diary.
Sarah was the daughter of Judge Thomas Gibbs Morgan, a former collector of the Port of New Orleans, and in 1861 was Judge of the District Court of the Parish of Baton Rouge. In complete sympathy of Southern rights, [illegible] of secession but decided for it when his state [illegible]. [illegible] brother Philip was a judge in New Orleans. He [illegible] for the Union, [illegible] his three brothers and friends. Later, he assisted in [illegible] the reconstruction rule.
In 1878, Sarah, the author of one of the most [illegible] and lively of the diaries kept by young ladies, married [illegible], Captain Francis Warrington Lawson, who [illegible] the Confederacy. Her husband became the editor of the [illegible] Courier of Charleston, which, under his guid-[illegible] in the work of rebuilding the South.

pillaging, if not destruction, of property, and personal insults and assaults. However, such acts of war are too well known to give detailed description. It will be sufficient to say that the general impressions of violence and devastation were corroborated in the diaries of the women of the period.

Throughout the months and years of trials and suffering there were many loyal clergymen who went about, in the words of the diarists, "sustaining fainting hearts by their prayers and examples". There were clergymen of both the Protestant and Catholic churches, who "strengthened the hands and warmed the hearts of their people by wise counsel and tender sympathy". As to the view of the churches on the questions of the war, sentiments of approval and acquiescent sympathy in the cause of the South were universal. Yet, many of the churches carefully avoided proclaiming extreme expressions from the pulpit. This was especially noted in several of the churches at Richmond. In contrast many of the ministers of rural churches were loud in voicing their opinions and flag hoisting became the order oft the day.

One of the most beloved bishops of the war period was the eminent William Meade, Bishop of Virginia. He was strongly attached to the Union and exerted every effort to

[illegible]. [illegible] not destruction, of property, and personal [illegible] and assaults. However, such acts of war are too well [illegible] detailed description. It will be sufficient [illegible] [illegible] in the diaries of the women of the [illegible].

[illegible] the months and years of trials and suffering [illegible] many loyal clergymen who went about, in the words [illegible], "sustaining fainting hearts by their [illegible] examples". There were clergymen of both the [illegible] [illegible] the hearts of their people by wise cou- [illegible] sympathy". As to the view of the churches [illegible] of the war, sentiments of approval and [illegible] sympathy in the cause of the South were univer- [illegible]. [illegible] many of the churches carefully avoided proclaim- [illegible] expressions from the pulpit. This was especial- [illegible] opinions and flag hoisting became the order [illegible].

[illegible] the most beloved bishops of the war period was [illegible] William Meade, Bishop of Virginia. He was [illegible] attached to the Union and exerted every effort to

make peace. Then, when convinced that the South was justified in secession, he left as a legacy his famous statement "Preserve in Separation".[51]

On mahy of the plantations, in keeping with traditions of long standing, the whites and the negroes attended the services in the plantation chapel. While a guest at the mansion of Senator Hammond, in South Carolina, Mrs. Clement Clay attended such a service in the chapel of St. Catherine. As she sat observing the negroes with their heads bowed, she wondered what thoughts were in their minds while fervent prayers for the "cause" were being offered.

In the late years of the war, a wave of religious fervor swept over the army of the Confederacy. The evidences of such a revival were noticed by the nurses in the hospitals. Then, too, Mrs. Gay quoted the letters of her brother, which described the religious awakening which took place in General Johnston's army in 1864. In telling her of it, the brother was deeply moved by the spirit which had captivated the army. Then, in contrast to a year before, when "card playing and profane language were universally in-

---

[51]Judith B. McGuire, op. cit.,

[illegible] Then, when convinced that the South was justi-
[illegible]
[illegible] in Separation".[51]

[illegible] of the plantations, in keeping with traditions
[illegible] the whites and the negroes attended the
[illegible] plantation chapel. While a guest at the
[illegible] Hammond, in South Carolina, Mrs. Clement
[illegible] such a service in the chapel of St. Catherine,
[illegible] the negroes with their heads bowed,
[illegible] what thoughts were in their minds while fervent
[illegible] "cause" were being offered.

In the late years of the war, a wave of religious fer-
[illegible] over the army of the Confederacy. The evidences
[illegible] were noticed by the nurses in the hos-
[illegible]
[illegible] which described the religious awakening which took
[illegible] Johnston's army in 1864. In telling her
[illegible] was deeply moved by the spirit which had
[illegible] the army. Then, in contrast to a year before,
[illegible]

---

[51] [illegible] B. McGuire, [illegible].

dulged in by the same soldiers"- the themes of the day were serious reflections and expressions of religion. Not long before the end of the war, he wrote that "if this state of things continue, we shall have an army of only believers for hundreds are being baptised".[52]

There were numerous ministers actively engaged in the ranks of the Confederate Army. Among them were General Leonidas Polk, who had been a bishop before the war. Some acted as chaplains but others, in the manner of the Reverend Dabney Harrison, served as soldiers in the field.

The long years of the war, which completely upset all the existing institutions in the South, brought about marked changes in the educational interests and schools. For, at the first note of the war, both teachers and pupils deserted the class room to volunteer their services. In many cases, the entire student body was organized into a company and volunteered as a unit. Of the number of pupils under their charge were sufficient, certain teachers could claim exemption from military service, but there were only a few who cared to take advantage of the exemption.

The colleges and universities were completely disorganized

---

[52]Mary Gay, op. cit., 77-93. Commenting in her characteristic manner, Mrs. Chestnur observed fourteen generals in church one Sunday, and suggested that "less piety and more drilling of commands would suit the times better". op. cit., 299.

[illegible] by the same soldiers"- the themes of the day [illegible] reflections and expressions of religion. [illegible] end of the war, he wrote that "if this [illegible]

[illegible] numerous ministers actively engaged in the [illegible] of the Confederate Army. Among them were General [illegible] as chaplains but others, in the manner of the Reverend [illegible], served as soldiers in the field.

The long [illegible] of the war, which completely upset all the existing institutions in the South, brought about marked changes in the educational interests and schools. For, at the first [illegible] of the war, both teachers and pupils deserted the class room to volunteer their services. In many [illegible] and [illegible] as a unit. Of the number of pupils under their charge were sufficient, certain teachers could claim [illegible] to take advantage of the exemption.

The colleges and universities were completely [illegible]

[illegible] Day, op. cit., 77-85. Commenting in her characteristic manner, Mrs. Chesteur observed fourteen generals in church and Sunday, and suggested that "less piety and more drilling of commands would suit the times better". op. cit., [illegible].

by the war. The situation at the University of North Caroline, located at Chapel Hill, can be taken as typical of every university in the South. Previously to the war, it had the largest enrollment of any school im the South. For the five years preceding the outbreak of open conflict, the enrollment had averaged about four hundred and twenty-five. In the fall of 1860, the Freshman class had eighty members, but only one, and he was incapacitated by illness, remained to graduate. The faculty, in spite of being seriously handicapped by the loss of members who had enlisted, resolved to keep the doors open as long as a dozen students could be found. Accordingly, when the Conscription Act of 1863 threatened to further deplete the student body of sixty-three who remained, the trustees and Governor Swain appealed to President Davis. They urged that youths under eighteen be allowed to remain to complete their courses. After careful consideration, this request was granted, and consequently, twelve boys were present when Sherman entered the university seat in 1865.[53]

If students could be found, the Catholic preparatory

---

53 Cornelia Phillips Spencer, Last Ninety Days of War, 251. Mrs. Spencer was born at Harlem, N.Y. in 1825. She was the daughter of Judith and James Phillips. Her father was a Presbyterian minister and teacher who had come from England in 1818. After accepting a chair of mathematics at the University of North Carolina, Mr. Phillips moved his family to Chapel Hill in 1826. In addition to learning the customary lady-like accomplishments, Cornelia studied Latin, Greek, and mathematics. On June 20, 1855, she married James Monroe Spencer, a lawyer of Clinton, Alabama. After his death she

(continued on page)

[illegible]. The situation at the University of North Carolina, located at Chapel Hill, can be taken as typical of every university in the South. Previously to the war, it had the largest enrollment of any school in the South. For the five years preceding the outbreak of open conflict, the enrollment had averaged about four hundred and twenty-five. In the fall of 1860, the Freshman class had eighty members, but only one, and he was incapacitated by illness, remained to graduate. The faculty, in spite of being seriously handicapped by the loss of members who had enlisted, resolved to keep the doors open as long as a dozen students could be found. Accordingly, when the Conscription Act of 1862 threatened to further deplete the student body of sixty-three who remained, the trustees and Governor Bragg appealed to President Davis. They urged that [illegible] under eighteen be allowed to remain to complete their courses. After careful consideration, this request was granted, and consequently, twelve boys were present when Freshman entered the university seat in 1863.[illegible]

If students could be found, the Catholic preparatory

[illegible] Phillips Spencer, Last Ninety Days of War, 201. Mrs. Spencer was born at Harlem, N.Y. in 1[illegible]. She was the daughter of Judith and James Phillips. Her father was a Presbyterian minister and teacher who had come from England in 1814. After accepting a chair of mathematics at the University of North Carolina, Mr. Phillips moved his family to Chapel Hill in 1[illegible]. In addition to learning the customary lady-like accomplishments, Cornelia studied Latin, Greek, and mathematics. On June 29, 1[illegible], she married James Monroe Spencer, a lawyer of Clinton, Alabama. After his death she

(continued on page [illegible])

schools remained open. Also, the girls boarding schools continued in many towns and cities. One of the best known was the fashionable school, kept by Miss Pegram, on Franklin Street, in Richmond. But the young ladies found it "difficult to fasten their attention on ancient history and 'belles-lettres' because of the 'beaux soldats' who paraded the streets".[54] Sometimes the schools closed in order to use the buildings for hospitals, as in the case of the suspension of the Richmond Female College.

When the schoolmasters and tutors volunteered or were conscripted, their work in many cases continued by the women. Many of the teachers had attended colleges which had been founded during the middle years of the century. One of them, a Mrs. Loula Kendall Rogers, who wrote Reminiscences of a War-Time Girl, had graduated from the Wesleyan Female College, which had been founded in 1839. Another was Miss Parthenia Hague of Georgia who taught in southern Alabama. Her book, The Blockaded Family, is one of the best accounts of the economic life of war-time Alabama.

53(continued) returned to Chapel Hill in 1861.
Her first book, The Last Ninety Days of the War was written immediately after the war.
Hope S. Chamberlain, Old Days in Chapel Hill.

54Louise Wigfall Wright, op. cit., 77.

In many instances, the women who were teaching had formerly belonged to the pre-war aristocracy of the South. At one time, wealthy ladies of position, the LeGrand sisters of New Orleans, opened a select school for girls. Another, Adele Petigue Allston, the mother of the author of The Chronicles of Chicora Wood began an excellent school at Chicora Wood. She was assisted by able teachers who instructed in French, literature, history, mathematics, Latin, and music. Some very advanced theories of education were put into practice and there were no rules except those of a well ordered, well conducted home".[55]

The schools faced a shortage of text books. When the old ones wore out, the few which were printed or brought in through the blockade were not adequate to meet the demand. Among the few printed were those of Mrs. M.B. Moore, of Raleigh, North Carolina. She wrote a Dixie Primer, for the Little Folks and A Geographical Reader for the Dixie Children.

As with textbooks, the publication of other books was limited and few were circulated. One of the rare war-time

---

55Elizabeth Allston Pringle, Chronicles of Chicora Woods 307-330.
Adele Petigru was the wife of Robert Allston and sister of the distinguished lawyer James L. Petigru. James Petigru had stood almost alone in his opposition to the Nullification movement of 1832. In 1860, he strongly opposed disunion "he alone in South Carolina had not seceded", wrote Mrs. Chestnut, "when they pray for our President he gets up from his knees."

In many instances, the women who were teaching had formerly belonged to the pre-war aristocracy of the South. At one time, wealthy ladies of position, the LeGrand sisters of the Orleans, opened a select school for girls. Another, [illegible] Allston, the mother of the author of The [illegible] of Chicora Wood began an excellent school at Chicora Wood. She was assisted by able teachers who instructed in French, literature, history, mathematics, Latin, and music. Some very advanced theories of education were not into practice and there were no rules except those of a well ordered, well [illegible].

The schools [illegible] were out, the few which were printed or brought in through the blockade were not adequate to meet the demand. Among the few printed were those of Mrs. M.B. Moore, of Raleigh, North Carolina. [illegible] The Little Folks and A Geographical Reader for the Dixie Children.

As with textbooks, the publication of other books was limited and few were circulated. One of the rare war-time

---

[illegible] Allston Pringle, Chronicles of Chicora Woods [illegible].

[illegible] was the wife of Robert Allston [illegible] and sister of the distinguished lawyer James L. Petigru. James Petigru had [illegible] almost alone in his opposition to the Nullification Movement of 1832. In 1860, he strongly opposed disunion "he alone in South Carolina had not seceded", wrote Mrs. Chestnut, "when they pray for our President he gets up from his knees."

publications was the translation of Mulbach's novel Joseph the Second and His Court. This was translated from the German by Adelaide Chaudron of New Orleans and was published by Goertzel Publishing House at Mobile, Alabama in 1864. It was printed on gray and bound in marbled wall paper. Probably the best seller of the war days was the novel Macaria, written by Augusta Evans Wilson.[56] The book was printed on newsprint at Columbia, South Carolina in 1864. A copy was slipped through the lines to a friend in the North who took it to J. B. Lippincott at Philadelphia and arranged for a wider publication. A romance of the war, The Rivals was written by Miss M. J. Haw of Virginia. This book was published by Ayres and Wade in 1864.

The scarcity of paper that handicapped the publication of books and newspapers, likewise inconvenienced the diarists. At times, the lack of paper forced them to give up

---

[56] The Philadelphia Enquirer, April 5, 1936. The city of Mobile, Alabama recently celebrated the centennial of the birth of Augusta Evans Wilson. Her life is one of the most interesting "success stories" this country has developed. She had no formal education, but wrote idealistic novels in which virtue triumphed and everything ended happily.

Her books "Beulah" (1859); "Macaria" (1864) and "St. Elmo" (1866) were read the world over. The story of "Macaria" was such that it proved popular with both Northern and Southern soldiers. A Federal officer captured and burned all copies of the book, on order of General Grant, who is reported to have complained that every time he looked around his soldiers were reading "Macaria".

their writing, or to use coarse brown paper and wall paper. Infrequently the supply was increased by a successful blockade-runner, but more often some poor substitute was used. This was neither satisfactory or durable. But, it answered the purpose, and many "billet-doux" to her soldier lovers" were penned on this coarse rough paper that blotted at every touch of the pen. The yound ladies then enclosed the "precious document in the rude envelop of turned wall paper".

In answer to the question of what were the views of the women writers concerning slavery, the writer has concluded that the majority of those who mentioned their slaves gave no reasons for approving, regretting or opposing the institution.[57] They were too much concerned with their immediate problems to discuss the general condition of the slaves in the South. The negro servants in the homes and slaves on plantations; the problem of controlling them if they became unfaithful and rebellious and the caring for their needs were the topics universally written about.

---

[57]However, a strong expression regarding slavery was made by Miss LeGrand in her Journal. Formerly an abolitionist, she became convinced that the negro was not fit for freedom. Journal, 100-102.

their writing, or to use coarse brown paper and wall paper. [illegible] but more often some poor substitute was used. This was neither satisfactory or durable. But, it [illegible] purpose, and many "billet-doux" to her soldier [illegible] were penned on this coarse rough paper that [illegible] every touch of the pen. The young ladies then [illegible] the "precious document in the rude envelop of [illegible] paper".

In [illegible] to the question of what were the views of the [illegible] writers concerning slavery, the writer has concluded that the [illegible] for approving, regretting or opposing the institution.[illegible] They were too much concerned with their immediate problems to discuss the general condition of the slaves in the South. The negro servants in the homes and slaves on plantations; the problem of controlling them if they became unfaithful and rebellious and the caring for their needs were the topics universally written about.

[illegible], a strong expression regarding slavery was made by Elsie Lockwood in her Journal. Formerly an abolitionist, [illegible] 100-102.

Many records have been written testifying to the faithfulness of the servants in the homes and those who accompanied his master to war. This custom was more of the usual, than the unusual in the early years of the war. Once when a regiment of Georgia soldiers was marching through the streets of Richmond, a man commented to Mrs. Chestnut, "Look at the servants on the sidewalks. I have been counting them, making an estimate. There are sixteen thousand dollars of negro property, which can go off on its own legs to the Yankees whenever it pleases".[58] The servant accompanied his soldier master to care for his person needs and valuables. He remained near him in battle to give aid if wounded or sick, or if finding his master dead would bury the body or return it home.

The household servants and plantation slaves were given added responsibilities during the years of conflict. Naturally longer hours and harder work followed the increased duties of the homes. At times, the protection of the owners and plantation property fell upon the shoulders of some trusted slaves. In hundreds of cases they became the chief guardian of the silver and valuables during Yankee raids. Although some would divulge the hiding place of the stock

---

[58] Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., 109.
Sallie B. Putnam, op. cit., 178.

[illegible] been written testifying to the faithful-
[illegible] of the servants in the homes and those who accompanied
[illegible] war. [illegible]
[illegible] in the early years of the war. Once when
[illegible] soldiers was marching through the
[illegible] of Richmond, a man commented to Mrs. Chestnut, "Look
[illegible] on the sidewalks. I have been counting
[illegible] an estimate. There are sixteen thousand dol-
[illegible] property, which can go off on its own legs
[illegible]".[58] The servant ac-
[illegible] soldier master to care for his person needs
and [illegible]. He remained near him in battle to give aid
if wounded or sick, or if finding his master dead would
[illegible] or return it home.

[illegible]
[illegible] during the years of conflict. Nat-
urally [illegible] hours and harder work followed the increased
[illegible] the homes. At times the protection of the owners
and plantation property fell upon the shoulders of some
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] would divulge the hiding place of the stock

---

[58] [illegible] B. Chestnut, op. cit., [illegible].
[illegible] B. Putnam, op. cit., [illegible].

and the valuables, a large number remained faithful.

In the early years, except in the captured cities, the majority remained loyal and orderly. Strange as it may seem, the Emancipation Proclamation did not create any unusual excitement among them. But, as the end drew near, they seemed more beset with fear and the hopes of freedom. They talked more of the promises of the Yankees and the freedom which was to be theirs. Some joined the invading army, while others celebrated their freedom by plundering towns and plantations. However, in spite of their stealing, their behavior was considered better than that of the invaders. There was sincere pity, on the part of the Southern women, for the slaves who were the dupes of Yankee treachery, and genuine concern for the future of the Negro under the care of the North who did not understand.[59]

In conclusion, from this sketchy survey, one can readily understand the problems and activities which had to be solved and carried on by the Confederacy. However, it can be seen that all the forces at work were not destructive. There were vital creative forces, already present in

---

[59]"They were", wrote Mrs. Putnam, "promised freedom, riches, free markets, a continued basking in the sun, places in the legislative halls, and a great deal more; but were allowed to starve in the streets or separated from families to work on plantations and fortifications.
Putnam, op. cit., 266.

[illegible] valuables, a large number remained faithful.

In the early years, except in the captured cities, the [illegible] remained loyal and orderly. Strange as it may [illegible], the Emancipation Proclamation did not create any unusual excitement among them. But as the end drew near, they [illegible] beset with fear and the hopes of freedom. They [illegible] of the promises of the Yankees and the freedom which [illegible] to be theirs. Some joined the invading army, [illegible] celebrated their freedom by plundering towns [illegible]. [illegible] was considered better than that of the in[illegible]. There was sincere pity, on the part of the Pouth[illegible], for the slaves who were the dupes of Yankee [illegible], and genuine concern for the future of the Negro [illegible] of the North who did not understand.[27]

[illegible], from this sketchy survey, one can readily [illegible] the problems and activities which had to be [illegible]. [illegible] all the forces at work were not destruc[illegible].

---

[27] [illegible], a continued basking in the sun, places in [illegible] legislative halls, and a great deal more; but were al[illegible] to starve in the streets or separated from families to [illegible] plantations and fortifications.
[illegible], op. cit., 200.

s small degree in the ante bellum South, which were to be released and put into action by the war. From these developments there was to come a new industrial South.

Chapter 5

Confederate Women and Hospital Service

To care for the wounded and sick was the pressing and complex problem of the women of the Confederacy. In trying to understand the situations with which they grappled, it is difficult for a woman of the twentieth century to penetrate deeply enough into the life and times of her grandmothers to fully grasp and visualize the difficulties surrounding the tasks they had to undertake. Besides the normal confusion and endless labor of assembling and organizing the vast resources of the South into usable articles and units, the women of the war period had to ignore public opinion and cast aside certain respected traditions that had long been cherished in Southern society. It was no easy matter to decide that a womanly woman could nurse and care for men who were not of her

Chapter 5

Confederate Women and Household Service

own family. To be sure, women such as the Florence Nightingales were to be admired, but were still strangers to most of the women of the middle years of the nineteenth century. There were far too few who dared to confess they understood such character traits as motivated the lives of nursing women, and still fewer who desired to emulate their careers.

Luckily, because of the numerous records which have been left, it is possible to peer into the life and times of those who were confronted by such perplexing obstacles. The following scene took place in Mobile, Alabama in the spring of 1862. It is needless to say that it was reenacted many times in many homes during the war. A much perturbed family, sitting around the Sunday dinner table, was discussing an announcement made from the pulpit at the morning service. To the consternation of the congregation, the pastor had made an appeal for ladies who were willing to go to the front as nurses to aid the wounded and dying soliders. He concluded that the whole Confederacy was feeling the lack of women nurses in the hospitals throughout the South. The outraged father of the family, just as thousands of others had done, looked around the table and replied in determined tones that "no one can go from this house". In "face of the fact that the

Southern government was considered far too poor and disorganized to render proper assistance, it was preposterous to make such appeals". Furthermore, the discussion continued, it was "contrary to all reasoning to believe that ladies were constituted to stand the realities of nrusing".[1]

From all sections and classes there were raised protests enough to convince that the entire South was imbued with similar traditions and sentiments. Contrary to the usual opinions, the objections were not confined exclusively to the aristocratic circles. Many revealing incidents were related by a well born matron of the Government hospitals at Richmond. She recalled how numerous women from the uneducated and laboring classes refused to submit themselves to the trials and "indecencies" of nursing strange men. At times, the attendants would refuse to obey orders by loudly asserting that "they were decent women and was not going anywhere in a place where a man sat upon his bed in his shirt and the rest laughed". The matron would tactfully dismiss such protesters by telling them that a hospital "was no place for a person of such refined and del-

---

[1]Kate Cummings, Gleanings from Southland, 37.

[illegible] government was considered far too poor and dis-
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]. It was "contrary to all reasoning to believe
[illegible] constituted to stand the realities of
[illegible]".[1]

[illegible]
[illegible] that the entire South was imbued with
[illegible] traditions and sentiments. Contrary to the usual
[illegible] the objections were not confined exclusively to
[illegible] circles. Many revealing incidents were
[illegible] a well born matron of the Government hospitals
[illegible]
[illegible] and laboring classes refused to submit themselves
[illegible] "indecencies" of nursing strange men.
[illegible], the attendants would refuse to obey orders by
[illegible] that "they were decent women and was not
[illegible] in a place where a man sat upon his bed in
[illegible]
[illegible] such protesters by telling them that a hos-
[illegible] no place for a person of such refined and del-

---

[1] [illegible], Gleanings from Southland, 37.

icate sensibilities".[2]

But, after the first shock, as is to be expected, there were found numerous women of unusual abilities who were willing to undertake the arduous tasks of nursing and administering in the hospitals. Such traditions, objections, and fear of hardships were not enough to restrain many who felt the need of their help in the crisis. In answer to the above mentioned appeal of the Reverend Mr. Miller at Mobile, Alabama, about forty ladies wolunteered their services. Among them were the authors Miss Augusta Evans, Miss Kate Cummings and a Mrs. Ogden who was to act in the capacity of a chaperon to the group. They were sent to the scene of action near Corinth. From other states came such well known figures as Mrs. Ella King Newsome, known as the "Florence Nightingale of the South", Mrs. Phoebe Yates Pember of Richmond, Mrs. Fannie Beers who served in Richmond, Alabama, and Georgia, Louisa Susanna McCord daughter of Langdon Cheves and widow of David J. McCord, a distinguished lawyer of South Carolina;[3] Kate Mason

---

[2]Phoebe Yates Pember, A Southern Woman's Story, 47.

[3]Mary B. Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, 319. "She is dedicating her grief to her son", commented Mrs. Chestnut, "sanctifying it, one might say, by giving up her soul and body, her days and nights, to the wounded soldiers in her hospital. Every moment of her time is surrendered to their needs".

[illegible]

[illegible], after the first shock, as is to be expected, there were found [illegible] willing to undertake the [illegible] ministering in the hospitals. Such traditions, objections, and fear of hardships were not enough to restrain many who felt the need of their help in the crisis. In answer to the above mentioned appeal of the Reverend Mr. Miller of Attila, Alabama, about [illegible] services. Among them were the authors Miss Augusta Evans, Miss Kate Cummings and a Mrs. Ogden who was to act in the capacity of a chaperon to the group. They were sent to the scene of action near Corinth. From other states came [illegible] figures as Mrs. Ella King Newsome, known as the "Florence Nightingale of the South", Mrs. Phoebe Yates Pember of Richmond, Mrs. Fannie Beers who served in [illegible], Alabama, and Georgia, Louise Susanna [illegible] daughter of Langdon Cheves and widow of David J. McCord, a distinguished lawyer of South Carolina;[3] Kate Mason

---

[illegible] Yates Pember, A Southern Woman's Story, 47.

[illegible] Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, 219. "One is [illegible] her grief to her son", commented Mrs. Chestnut, "[illegible] it, one might say, by giving up her soul and [illegible] days and nights, to the wounded soldiers in her [illegible]. Every moment of her time is surrendered to their [illegible]".

Rowland and Sallie Chapman, Gordon Law and many others who believed that "none but the most noble and refined ladies had any business doing the most sacred of all duties- alleviating suffering". Then, too, they reasoned "if the Sisters of Charity of the Roman Catholic Church can go with credit into the hospitals, a Protestant lady can do the same".[4]

Strange as it may seem to a twentieth century person, the presence of women nurses were, in many instances, resented by the staff of the hospitals. There were doctors who refused to sit in the same room with them and loudly declared that "war was no time to be bothered by petticoat government".[5] This attitude, moreover, was justified in the opinion of the more efficient matrons, on the ground that the majority of women who wished to become matrons lacked the requisites of the position. In defense of the doctors, Mrs. Morgan commented in her book How It Was, that the doctors who objected to women entering the hospital changed their view, as soon as "they saw them

---

[4]Kate Cumming s, Gleanings from the Southland, 39.

[5]Phoebe Yates Pember, op. cit., 45.

[illegible] Chooman, Gordon Law and many others [illegible] business doing the most sacred of all du- [illegible] "If the Sisters of Charity of the Roman Catholic Church [illegible] credit into the hospitals, a Protestant lady [illegible]".[4]

[illegible] it may seem to a twentieth century person, [illegible] of women nurses were, in many instances, re- [illegible] the staff of the hospitals. There were doc- [illegible] refused to sit in the same room with them and [illegible] that "war was no time to be bothered by [illegible]".[5] This attitude, moreover, was jus- [illegible] of the more efficient matrons, on the [illegible] the requisites of the position. In defense [illegible], Mrs. Morgan commented in her book How It [illegible] the doctors who objected to women entering the [illegible] their view, as soon as "they saw them

---

[4] [illegible], Gleanings from the Southland, 39.

[5] [illegible] Pember, op. cit., 45.

having but one aim- that of doing good and doing it in the right way".[6]

The first real nursing emergency of the war was faced by the Confederacy following the battles in northern Virginia, in the summer of 1861. To care for the hundreds of wounded and sick, the Confederate government established emergency hospitals at Richmond and other Virginia towns. As the wounded began to arrive, all available warehouses, schools, public buildings, and churches were rapidly converted into hospitals and relief stations. The Confederate government was, at this time, in the midst of moving the capitol from Montgomery to Richmond, and was woefully unprepared to cope with so pressing a situation. However, an appeal was made to the women of the communities to assist in the temporary quarters and in the more permanent hospitals. They were able to relieve the shortage of governmental supplies with stoves, beds, sheets, pillows, linens and food from their homes. Them, too, in order to aid in the actual nursing, they established numerous relief societies. These organizations were composed of women who

---

[6]Mrs. Irby Morgan, How It Was, 14.

[illegible]

[illegible] the right way".[illegible]

The first real nursing emergency of the war was faced [illegible] Virginia, in the [illegible] of [illegible] and sick, the Confederate government established [illegible] hospitals at Richmond and other Virginia towns. As the [illegible] began to arrive, all available warehouses, [illegible], public buildings, and churches were rapidly [illegible] into hospitals and relief [illegible]. The [illegible] government was, at this time, in the midst of moving the capital from Montgomery to Richmond, and was [illegible] to cope with so pressing a situation. [illegible] was made to the women of the communities to assist in the temporary quarters and in the more permanent hospitals. They were able to relieve the shortage of governmental supplies with stoves, beds, sheets, pillows, [illegible] and food from their homes. Then, too, in order to aid in the actual nursing, they established numerous relief [illegible]. These organizations were composed of women who

---

[illegible]

were unwilling to devote themselves to the regular nursing, nevertheless, were anxious to have their part. But, as the days went by, there were many whose first visits to the hospital were fan flies later developed into able assistants in the amputating room.

In commenting on the establishment of the Confederate government hospitals, one of these matrons wrote that,[7]

> Soon after the breaking out of the Southern war, the need of hospitals, properly organized and arranged, began to be felt, and buildings adapted for thepurpose were secured by the government. Richmond being nearest to the scene of action took the lead in the matter, and the formerly hastily contrived accomodations for the sick were soon replaced by larger more comfortable and better ventilated buildings.

The expense of keeping up the small hospitals had been brought to the attention of Surgeon-General Moore[8] who gradually incorporated them into several immense establishments, strewn around the suburbs. These were called Camp Jackson, Camp Winder, Chimboraza, Stuart, and How-

---

[7]Phoebe Yates Pember, op. cit., 11.

[8]Moore, Samuel Preston (1813-1889) was bron in Charleston, S.C. He was the son of Stephen and Eleanor Gilbert Moore. After graduation from the Medical College of South Carolina in 1834, he became a surgeon in the United States Army.
The coming of the war was to him, as to many regular officers, the occasion for much distress of mind. He resigned from the service so as not to fight against his state and entered the practice of medicine at Little Rock, Arkansas. But in June, 1861, he was made Surgeon-General of the Confederate Army. He established examining boards, and introduced, as far as possible, the organization and methods of the medical department of the United States Army. When

(continued on page)

[illegible] to devote themselves to the regular nursing, [illegible], were anxious to have their part. But, as [illegible] were fan flies later developed into able [illegible] in the amputating room.

In [illegible] on the establishment of the Confederate [illegible] hospitals, one of these matrons wrote that,[7]

> Soon after the breaking out of the Southern war, the need of hospitals, [illegible] be felt, and buildings adapted for [illegible] purpose were secured by the government. Richmond being nearest to the [illegible] of action took the lead in the matter, and the formerly hastily contrived accomodations for the sick were soon replaced by larger more comfortable [illegible].

The [illegible] of keeping up the small hospitals had been [illegible] to the attention of Surgeon-General Moore[8] who [illegible] incorporated them into several immense establishments, [illegible] around the suburbs. These were called [illegible], Camp Winder, Chimborazo, Stuart, and How-

---

[7] [illegible] Yates Pember, op. cit., 11.

[8] [illegible], Samuel Preston (1813-1869) was born in Charleston, S.C. [illegible] the son of Stephen and Eleanor Gilbert Moore. [illegible] in 1834, he became a surgeon in the United States Army. The coming of the war was to him, as to many regular officers, the occasion for much distress of mind. He resigned from the service so as not to fight against his state and [illegible]. But in June, 1861, he was made Surgeon-General of the Confederate Army. [illegible] as possible, the organization and methods of the medical department of the United States Army. When

(continued on page)

ard Grove; and were arranged so that from thirty to forty wards formed a division, and generally five divisions a hospital. Each ward accomodated from thirty to forty patients... Besides the sick wards, similar buildings were used for official purposes... There were carpenters, blacksmiths, apothecarys, shoe-makers shops, ice houses; commissarys and quarter-masters. Each hospital presented to the eye the appearance of a small village.

Similar hospitals were scattered throughout the South and were especially numerous in Virginia, the Ohio and Mississippi Valley, in Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia. In the opinion of the matrons, the large hospital at Charlottesville, Virginia was the best equipped in the South.

In addition to the hospitals established by the Confederate government, there were state and private institutions to care for the sick and woulded. These rendered valuable assistance in supplementing the poorly organized medical unit of the Confederacy. There were, according to the memoirs and diaries of the nurses and matrons, frightful conditions existing in all of the hospitals- whether

---

3(continued) the Union army entered Richmond, the records of the office were almost entirely destroyed, so there is little documentary evidence of his work. He organized in 1863 the Association of Army and Navy Surgeons of the Confederate States, and encouraged the publication of The Medical and Surgical Journal

and Texas; and were arranged so that from thirty to forty wards formed a division, and generally five divisions a hospital. Each ward accomodated from thirty to forty patients... Besides the sick wards, similar buildings were used for official [illegible]... There were [illegible]-tory, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]; [illegible] and quarter-masters. Each hospital presented to the eye the appearance of a small village.

Similar hospitals were scattered throughout the South and were especially numerous in [illegible]. The [illegible] Division Hospital, in [illegible], Alabama, [illegible]. In the neighborhood of [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]-lottesville. Virginia was the best equipped in the South.

In addition to the hospitals established by the Confederate government, [illegible] the sick and wounded. These rendered valuable assistance in supplementing the poorly organized medical [illegible] of the Confederacy. There were, according to the [illegible] diaries of the nurses and matrons, frightful conditions existing in all of the hospitals- whether

---

[illegible] of the office were almost entirely destroyed, so there is little [illegible]. [illegible] 1863 the Association of Army and Navy Surgeons of the Confederate States, and encouraged the publication of The Medical and Surgical Journal

Confederate or state or in Virginia or Tennessee. Because of disorganization, a state of confusion and discontent prevalied in most of the hospital units. It took months before any semblance of cooperation between the local state and Confederate organizations could be established and maintained. Frequently surgeons in charge were transferred from one unit to another, often taking their entire staff with them. It was not unusual for the regimental doctors to arrive with their wounded units, rending valuable service but upsetting the discipline of the hospital and adding to the general state of confusion. Such state of affairs handicapped the service, and as one of the nurses complained, the "amount of good was not near what it might have been if things were better managed".[9]

But, by the end of 1862, the conditions in the hospitals began to improve. In the earlier days of the war, there had been no separation of the wounded except by the seriousness of their wounds, but gradually a plan was worked out whereby they were grouped by rank and states. This greatly aided the War department in establishing identities; the distribution of mail and supplies which were

---

[9]Kate Cummings, Journal of Hospital Life, 14.

sent from their home states to supplement the government supplies. Then, too, after rumors had circulated that there were serious weaknesses in the hospital administration, a series of statutes were enacted by the Confederate Congress. The first provided that all surgeons had to be examined before receiving their commissions. The second, which is far more important, for this study, was the law passed making provisions for ladies (where they could be had) to take charge of the domestic arrangements in the hospitals.[10]

Before the appointment of the matrons, there had been some desultory visiting by women, which often resulted in more harm than benefit to the patient. Many not only proved themselves unable to do the tasks assigned, but seriously clogged the administrative machinery. As a remedy for this situation, the matron bill was passed. But the response was discouraging for only a "few, very few ladies and a great many inefficient women, hardly above the laboring class, had applied for and filled the positions."[11]

---

[10] Regulations for the Medical Department, 1863. "There will be allowed th the general hospital, with rations and suitable places of lodging, two chief matrons, at a salary not to exceed forty dollars a month, whose general duties shall be to exercise a supervision over the entire domestic economy of the hospital; to take charge of such delicacies as may be provided for the sick; to see that the food and diet is properly prepared; two assistant matrons at a salary not to exceed thirty-five dollars a month, whose general duties are to superintend the laundry; two ward matrons to prepare beds; administer food and medicine, and nurses (giving preference to female when their services may best serve the purpose.

[11] Phoebe Yates Pember, op. cit., 13.

For the number of women who were willing to assume such duties, there were many more who did not answer the earnest appeal of President Davis when he "called on the women of the South to do their duty at all hazards". In criticism of those who had refused to give themselves in service, Miss Cummings wrote:

> What a sacred duty is here left undone by our women! I do not say that all are guilty of this neglect, for I know there are many good women who have their home duties to attend to, and others who have not the strength physically: but how many are there at this moment, who do not know how to pass their time- rich, refined, intellectual, and shall I say christian?... O that the women of the South may awake from their dream ere it is too late, when remorse will bring in retrospect before them.[12]

And, another time, she wrote against those who had dared to criticise the surgeons, nurses and chaplains. From her experiences she found the men "as good nurses as it was in their power to be, for they were never designed to be nurses" and could never do satisfactorily the duties that belonged to the "women's true sphere". She urged them to awake to the realization that "in war the men were to

---

[12]Kate Cummings, Journal, 65.

[illegible] number of women who were willing to assume such [illegible]. [illegible] were many more who did not answer the earn- [illegible] of President Davis when he "called on the women [illegible]". [illegible] Dennings wrote:

> That a sacred duty is here left un- [illegible] by our women! I do not say that all are guilty of this neglect, for I [illegible] there are many good women who have [illegible] who have not the strength phy- [illegible]: but how many are there at this [illegible], who do not know how to pass [illegible] time- rich, refined, intellectual, [illegible] shall I say christian?... O that [illegible] women of the South may awake from [illegible] dream ere it is too late, when re- [illegible] will bring in retrospect before [illegible].[12]

[illegible], [illegible] time, she wrote against those who had dared [illegible] the surgeons, nurses and chaplains. From her [illegible] she found the men "as good nurses as it was [illegible] to be, for they were never designed to be [illegible]" [illegible] would never do satisfactorily the duties [illegible]. [illegible] realization that "in war the men were to

---

[12] [illegible]

fight and the women were to nurse the wounded and sick". Furthermore, she believed that little praise should be to the "women who tell what wonders they would do if they were only men, when so much of their own legitimate work was left undone". It was time for the world to see that a "lady's respectability must be at a low ebb when it can be endangered by going into a hospital... for in her experience she had never heard "one word spoken or seen one act to which the most fastidious and refined woman could take exception".[13]

An interesting personal experience was told by one of the well-born ladies of Richmond, in regard to the appeals for assistance from the women of the South. When one of the large hospitals in Richmond was about to be opened, the wife of the then acting Secretary of War offered the lady the superintendency of the unit. Such a request was a "rather startling proposition to a woman used to all the comforts of a luxurious life". But, after considering that the lady who made the request had "given her resources of mind and means to the sick" and after listening to her vivid account of the "benefit a good and determined woman's rule could effect in such a position", the future matron was turned away from the idea that "such a life would be injur-

---

[13] Ibid., 87-90.

ious to the delicacy and refinement of a lady- that her nature would become deterioriated and her sensibilities blunted". In a few days the "first step (the one which costs) was soon taken".[14]

At the beginning, the surgeons found it difficult to assume a professional manner toward the new matrons. Although most of them approved their installations, they could not forget in a day their former drawing room manners and notions of courtesies due the ladies of their circles. Following her appointment, the lady quated above, reported to her Surgeon-in-Charge. Naturally, she expected him to discuss her duties and future plans, but he confined the conversation to casualties, belles lettres and to the discussion of the novel Joseph the Second and His Court.[15] Then, too, her doubtful frame of mind was not comforted by a remark she overheard as she passed through the ward on her way out. A young man, after looking her over, commented in loud tones, "Well, I always did think this government was a confounded sell and now I know it when they put such a little fool to manage a big hospital."[16]

---

[14]Phoebe Yates Pember, op. cit., 14.

[15]The novel was a translation of Mulbach's work by Adelaide Chaudion. It was published by Goertzel in Mobile, Alabama, printed on gray and bound in marble wall paper.

[16]Phoebe Yates Pember, op. cit., 18-19.

[illegible] delicacy and refinement of a lady- that her [illegible] [illegible]. In a few days the "first step (the one which [illegible]).[14]

At the beginning, the surgeons found it difficult to [illegible] a professional manner toward the new matrons. Although most of them approved their installations, they [illegible] in a day their former drawing room manners [illegible]. Following her appointment, the lady quoted above, reported [illegible] her Surgeon-in-Charge. Naturally, she expected him to discuss her duties and future plans, but he confined the conversation to casualties, belles lettres and to the dis- [illegible].[15] [illegible], too, her doubtful frame of mind was not comforted by a remark she overheard as she passed through the ward [illegible] out. A young man, after looking her over, [illegible] in loud tones, "Well, I always did think this [illegible] a little fool to manage a big hospital."[16]

---

[14] [illegible] Yates Pember, op. cit., 14.

[15] [illegible] was a translation of Mulbach's work by Adelaide Crapton. It was published by [illegible], printed on gray and bound in marble wall paper.

[16] [illegible] Yates Pember, op. cit., [illegible].

Similar situations and preplexities faced the matrons of all the hospitals scattered throughout the South. The congressional law which provided for them, was at first, interpreted to mean that the women were to act in the capacities of a housekeeper and cook. It was not long, however, before the wise staff officers understood that they were superintendents in the real sense of the word. They were to be administrative officers with suitable assistants. When properly organized, the staff under her supervised the kitchen department; looked after the diets; cared for the laundry; commanded the foraging expeditions (these became more important as the government rations became less and less). The matrons supervised the wards, assisted in administering medical aid; welded together the nursing unit, consisting of convalescents who were constantly returning to duty when well enough. Because of the constant changing of the nursing corps, the matrons became an important administrative officials for often, the continuity of organization rested entirely with them. Along with their administrative duties, the matrons nursed the wounded and sick; wrote letters home; provided amusement and cheered homesick hearts; acted as chaplains; were the hostesses to their families; and gave courage to meet suffering

and death.[17]

After the early problems of readjustment had been worked out, serious conflicts between the matrons and staff officers were rare. Yet, at times, the duties of the matron were questioned. These were more frequent following the passing of the bill which designated her as the "keeper of the whiskey barrel". A doctor, new to his duties at a Richmond hospital, wrote to the matron the following letter:

> Hospital, April 3,1864
>
> The Chief Matron:- Is respectfully asked to state the amount of water used as compared with the amount of whiskey used in making a toddy. Also if strength of toddy has been uniform since Jan. 1, 1863. Also, if any change has taken place in diluting within the same period. She will also state what the change has been; also and by whose authority.
>
> Respectively
> Assistant Surgeon-in-Charge

The matron answered the questions and was more than indignant when another letter, demanding more useless information, arrived. She replied:

> Hospital, April 3, 1864
>
> The Chief Matron regrets that she is too busily engaged to give any more voluminous information- being at this moment up to her elbows in gingerbread.

---

[17]Mrs. Fannie Beers, Memories; Phoebe Yates Pember, A Southern Woman's Story; J. Fraise Richard, The Florence Nightingale of the South; Kate Cummings, Journal and Gleanings from Southland

[illegible].[17]

[illegible] the early problems of readjustment had been worked [illegible], [illegible] conflicts between the matrons and staff off-[illegible] [illegible]. Yet, at times, the duties of the ma-[illegible] questioned. These were more frequent following [illegible] of the bill which designated her as the "keeper of the whiskey barrel". A doctor, new to his duties at a [illegible] hospital, wrote to the matron the following letter:

> Hospital, April 3,[illegible]
> The Chief Matron:- Is respectfully [illegible] to state the amount of water used [illegible] compared with the amount of whiskey used in making a toddy. Also if strength of [illegible] has been uniform since Jan. 1, 1863. [illegible], if any change has taken place in [illegible] within the same period. She will [illegible] state what the change has been; also [illegible] by whose authority.
> Respectively
> [illegible]

[illegible] answered the questions and was more than in-[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]-[illegible] [illegible]. She replied:

> Hospital, April [illegible]
> The Chief Matron regrets that she is too busily engaged to give any more volum-inous information- being at this moment up to her elbows in gingerbread.

---

[17] [illegible]; J. Fraise Richard, The [illegible] [illegible] of the South; Kate Cumming, Journal and Clean-[illegible]

The doctor considered such an answer an act of insubordination. In order to appease his outraged dignity he immediately dispatched the following:

> Chief Matron: Is hereby informed that if she is willfully and contumaciously refusing to give me such information as I demand and she is possessed of, thereby obstructing the duty I feel myself cllaed upon to perform. She must be prepared to meet the responsibility upon her own shoulders.
> Respectfully
> Assistant-surgeon in charge[18]

It was not long before he departed and the matron continued in her position and the incident was forgotten. The records of the above type are rare, and far more numerous are the comments on the cooperative relations existing between members of the hospitals. The greatest possible praises were written by the matrons and nurses about the courage, heroism, and self-sacrificing spirit of the doctors.[19]

---

[18]Phoebe Yates Pember, op. cit., 91-94.

[19]In reference to Surgeon General Moore, Mrs. Putnam wrote that "there are few men in authority under the Confederate Government who have had a more irreproachable record... his character can best be understood from the high esteem in which he was held by those who worked under him...Scrupulously exacting of them the strictest performance of duty, it was so well regulated as to make it a pleasure, while the slightest neglect of duty was never permitted to pass unnoticed."

[illegible] considered such an answer an act of insubordination. In order to appease his outraged dignity he immediately [illegible]tched the following:

> [illegible]
> [illegible] if she is willfully and contumaciously refusing to give me such information as I demand and she is possessed of, thereby obstructing the duty I feel myself called upon to perform. She must be prepared to meet the responsibility upon her own shoulders.
> [illegible]
> Assistant-surgeon in charge[illegible]

It was not long before he departed and the matron continued in her position and the incident was forgotten. The [illegible] of the above type are rare, and far more numerous are the [illegible]ts on the cooperative relations existing between [illegible]ers of the hospitals. The greatest possible pra[illegible] [illegible] by the matrons and nurses about the courage, [illegible]ism, and self-sacrificing spirit of the doctors.[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] In reference to Surgeon General Moore, Mrs. [illegible] [illegible] there are few men in authority under the confederate government who have had a more [illegible] record... [illegible] can best be understood from the high [illegible] [illegible] was held by those who worked under him... [illegible] of them the strictest performance of duty, [illegible] regulated as to make it a pleasure, while [illegible] neglect of duty was never permitted to pass [illegible].

In spite of almost insurmountable difficulties, they gave their best to the Southern cause. The Confederate officer and soldier faced the enemy unprepared and inadequately equipped, but his problems were certainly no greater than the doctors who were given a warehouse, a church, or a railroad station, and with a corps of inexperienced women and convalescent soldiers to assist them, and turned it into a hospital. Wherever there were the wounded and sick, a hospital would soon emerge.

From the early days of open hostilities all medicines and anesthetics had been declared, by the Federal government, contraband of war- an action severely criticised by the women, who felt it an act against the higher law of humanity. As a result, the South was in depperate need of medical supplies. Whenever news arrived that a blockade runner carrying supplies had successfully eluded its pursuers, or that a lady had come from "beyond the lines" with medicines concealed in the folds of her hoop skirt, there was universal joy and relief that some who needed attention so badly would have assistance. A well-known author in her Memories of a Southern Woman of Letters retold a story told by her mother, how she

> During the darkest hours of the Confederacy, when the fevers were raging on the plantation and all the medicines had given

In spite of almost insurmountable difficulties, they gave their best as the [illegible]. [illegible] and soldiers found the enemy unprepared and inadequately assigned. But his problems were certainly no greater than the nations who were given a warehouse, a church, or a railroad station, and with a corps of inexperienced women and convalescent soldiers to assist them, and turned it into a hospital. Wherever there were the wounded and sick, a hospital would soon emerge.

From the early days of open hostilities all medicines and [illegible] had been declared, by the Federal government, contraband of war- an action severely criticized by the women, who felt it an act against the higher law of humanity. As a result, the South was in desperate need of medical supplies. [illegible] carrying supplies had successfully eluded its pursuers, or that a lady had come from "beyond the lines" with medicines concealed in the folds of her hoop skirt, there was universal joy and relief that some who needed attention so badly would have assistance. A well-known author in her Memories of a Southern Woman of Letters retold a story told by her father, now she

> During the darkest hours of the Confederacy, when the favors were raging on the plantation and all the medicines had given

> out, with of course no hope of getting more through the deed of contraband established by the enemy, she needing flour opened the barrel (smuggled barrel) and inside found securely packed a miraculous store of all the medicines she needed- quinine, calmmel, morphine, blue moss, etc. and underneath a store of precious chloroform whose value to the Confederacy could be expressed in no earthly terms. The chloroform was instantly dispatched to the nearest camp with the over supply of other drugs, a God sent and mystifying blessing.[20]

As to be expected, this continual lack of medicinal supplies created a state of discouragement in all the hospital unite- there was so little which could be done about it. But, certainly it is to be concluded that the South did all she could to remedy the situation. Laboratories were established at Richmond, drugs were made in the homes, and varied susbtitutions were found for valuable necessities. Some of the popular substitutions and remedies were the berries of the dogwood tree which were used for quinine since they contained alkaloid properties similar to chinchona and peruvian bark; blackberry juices and roots, ripe persimmons, wild cherries, and sassafras roots were used for many ailments. A compound for chills and fever was made from the bark of the

---

[20]Grace King, Memories of a Southern Woman of Letters, 12.

[illegible], with of course no hope of getting [illegible]e through the deed of contraband es-[illegible]lished by the enemy, she reading [illegible] opened the barrel (smuggled bar-[illegible]) and inside found securely packed [illegible] miraculous store of all the medicines [illegible]- quinine, calomel, morphine, [illegible], etc. and underneath a store [illegible] precious chloroform whose value to [illegible] Confederacy could be expressed in [illegible] earthly terms. The chloroform was [illegible]tantly dispatched to the nearest [illegible] with the over supply of other drugs, [illegible] sent and mystifying blessing.

[illegible] expected, this continual lack of medicinal sup-[illegible] a state of discouragement in all the hospital [illegible] was so little which could be done about it. [illegible] it is to be concluded that the South did all [illegible] [illegible] Richmond, drugs were made in the homes, and varied [illegible] were found for valuable necessities. Some of [illegible] substitutions and remedies were the berries of [illegible] tree which were used for quinine since they con-[illegible] properties similar to chinchona and peruvian [illegible] juices and roots, ripe persimmons, wild cher-[illegible] roots were used for many ailments. A [illegible] chills and fever was made from the bark of the

dogwood, poplar and wahoo trees; congestion of the lungs was treated with mullein plant, globe flower, and wild cherry. Poppies were widely grown as a source of laudanum, and arrow root was universally used for all illnesses.[21]

In order to aid the Southerners in their efforts to find substitutions for medicines, Dr. Francis Porcher was temporarily released from service to prepare a book, Resources of the Southern Fields, and Forests, A Medical Botany of the Confederate States. He catalogued the medicinal, economical and useful properties of all the trees, plants, and shrubs found in the Confederate states and made it applicable to the requirements of the surgeon, planter and housewife.[22]

Nevertheless, the strenuous efforts to meet the preplexing problem was laudable but not adequate to care for the increasing needs as the number of sick and wounded increased. Consequently, the hospital journals relate woeful tragedies and blunders when the supplies so sorely needed to alleviate suffering and prevent death were not to be had. The cases cited in the journals convince a reader that the Confederacy

---

[21]Parthenia Hague, A Blockaded Family, 47.

[22]Francis Porcher, Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests, published at Richmond in 1863.

[illegible] was treated with mullein plant, globe flower, and wild cherry. [illegible] arrow root was universally used for all illnesses.[21]

In order to aid the Southerners in their efforts to find [illegible] from service to prepare a book, Resources of the Southern Fields, and Forests, A Medical Guide of the Confederate States. He catalogued the medicinal, economical and useful properties of all the trees, plants, and [illegible] in the Confederate states and made it applicable [illegible] requirements of the surgeon, planter and housewife.[22]

[illegible], the strenuous efforts to meet the preplexing problem as laudable but not adequate to care for the increasing needs as the number of sick and wounded increased. [illegible], the hospital journals relate woeful tragedies and [illegible] when the supplies so sorely needed to alleviate [illegible] at death were not to be had. The cases [illegible] in the journals convince a reader that the Confederacy

---

[21] Martha Hague, A Blockaded Family, 47.

[22] Francis Porcher, Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests, published at Richmond in 18[illegible].

faced more to-be-dreaded enemies than the Northern army- exposure, starvation, pneumonia, small pox, typhoid, erysipelas, and gangrene. These insidious foes followed in the wake of the bullets and against which the poorly equipped medical department was not able to rally.

Then, too, the lack of transportation facilities greatly handicapped the hospital life. The critical conditions resulting from the slow and uncertain transportation of food made the "foraging unit" a necessity. At times the entire hospital staff and patients had to depend on it to furnish the food and milk. If there had been adequate transportation facilities to haul the boxes and supplies sent to the soldiers from their states, homes and relief societies, the burdens of the hospital and needs of the soldiers would have been considerably lightened. And, an even more regrettable fact was that the transportation of the wounded and sick soldiers was woefully slow. On many occasions the diary of Miss Cummings contained expressions similar to the following:

> Not a day passes that we do not see hundreds of sick men lying on the platform at the depot awaiting transportation. We know many times that they are really in want, but Dr. Frank Smith, though one of the kindest hearted men in the world, has prohibited us from taking them

> any food, as it is strictly against orders, and besides he has not the food to spare.[23]

And, in explanation, she wrote that "the railroads are much blamed for the suffering in not transporting them sooner."

In a discussion of the Confederate women, and their work in the hospitals, it is essential to consider the subsidiary agencies found in every community of the South. They were necessary allies of the hospitals and indispensable friends of every soldier who wore the beloved Confederate gray. As soon as a contingent of soldiers, sick, wounded, or well, arrived in a community, the ladies concerned themselves with their care. They were present to meet the trains at all the distributing points, bringing food and water and administering first-aid attentions to the sick and wounded. On some occasions, they would find train loads of troops who had not been fed for days, and it was a welcome sight for the troops to see "women and children running, some with provisions, others with servants carrying waiters, baskets, bundles and quantities of needed articles". The local agencies ably assisted the wounded lying in railway stations and

---

[23]Kate Cummings, Gleanings, 62.

[illegible] food, as it is strictly against [illegible]ers, and besides he has not the [illegible] to spare.[illegible]

[illegible], in [illegible]tion, she wrote that "the railroads are [illegible] suffering in not transporting them soon-[illegible].

[illegible] of the Confederate women, and their work [illegible]itals, it is essential to consider the subsidiary [illegible] in every community of the South. They were [illegible] allies of the hospitals and indispensable friends [illegible] soldier who wore the beloved Confederate gray. As [illegible] of soldiers, sick, wounded, or well, [illegible]ity, the ladies concerned themselves [illegible]. They were present to meet the trains at all [illegible]ting points, bringing food and water and admini-[illegible] [illegible]ions, they would find train loads of troops who [illegible] to see "women and children running, some with [illegible], others with servants carrying waiters, baskets, [illegible] quantities of needed articles". The local agen-[illegible] the wounded lying in railway stations and

---

[illegible]

along the streets waiting admittance to the crowded hospitals. Their services extended to actual nursing, the making of bandages and supplies, benefit entertainments for hospital funds, food, clothing, and care for the needy families of absent soldiers.

Among the many famous organizations of this sort were the "Soldiers Rest" of Richmond and the Wayside Hospital at Columbia, South Carolina. The Richmond "Rest" was ably looked after by Mrs. Hopkins. The author of Memories, which is frequently quoted in this work, was one of the assistants of Mrs. Hopkins before she went to Buckner Hospital in Gainesville, Georgia. The Wayside Hospital was established at Columbia, "where all the railroads met". It was brought to the attention of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association that the "moneyless soldiers, sick and wounded, suffered greatly when they had to lie over because of faulty connections between trains". A suggestion that the soldiers "would greatly appreciate a room where they might have their wounds bound up and refreshed" became the idea back of that commendable institution. In praise of the success of the idea, Dr. John T. Darby, before the South Carolina Medical Association remarked that,

> On the route from the army to the general hospital, wounds are dressed and soldiers refreshed at Wayside Home! and here let it be said with justice

On the route from the army to the
General Hospital, wounds are dressed
and soldiers returned at Wayside Home!
and there let it be said with justice

> and pride that the crediting of originating this system is due to the women of South Carolina. In a small room in the capitol of the state, the Wayside Home was founded: and during the war, some seventy-five thousand soldiers were relieved by having their wounds dressed, their ailments attended, and very frequently by being clothed through the patriotic services and good offices of a few untiring ladies in Columbia.[23]

It was not possible for all the nursing to be done in the hospitals, and soldiers were placed in private homes. Among the countless homes which remained open to the soldiers was that of Mrs. Caroline Mayo in Richmond. She converted her large mansion into a hospital and personally supervised the nursing of wounded and sick guests. Another famous nursing residence was the home of John E. Caldwell, near Lynchburg, Virginia, familiarly known as "The Refuge". For over three years, the doors were always open to wounded or sick privates from Louisiana- officers were not allowed. Coming from New Orleans, Mrs. and Mr. Caldwell established their residence in Virginia with the definite purpose of making it a refuge for those needing care. The "excellence and faithfulness of the nursing" wrote Mrs. Beers "is fully proved by the fact that while three or four hundred patients

---

[23]Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., 206.

> [illegible] pride that the crediting of originating this system is due to the women of South Carolina. In a small room in the [illegible] of the state, the Wayside home was founded: and during the war, some seventy-five thousand soldiers were relieved by having their wounds dressed, their ailments attended, and very frequently by [illegible]

It was not possible for all the nursing to be done in the hospitals, and soldiers were placed in private homes. [illegible] that of Mrs. Caroline Mayo in Richmond. She converted her large mansion into a hospital and personally supervised the nursing of wounded and sick guests. Another famous nursing residence was the home of John E. Caldwell, near [illegible], Virginia, familiarly known as "The Refuge". For every three years, the doors were always open to wounded [illegible] private from Louisiana- officers were not allowed. Coming from New Orleans, Mrs. and Mr. Caldwell established their residence in Virginia with the definite purpose of [illegible] for those needing care. The "excellence and faithfulness of the nursing" wrote Mrs. Beers "is fully [illegible] fact that while three or four hundred patients

---

[illegible]

were nursed in this blessed 'Refuge' no mortality occurred among the soldiers."[24]

For doing what numerous Southern women from all sections did no behalf of the sick and wounded, one Virginia lady received a commission in the Confederate Army with the title of Captain. Following the battle of Manassas, the Confederate government, not being able to care for all the wounded, appealed to private individuals to lend their assistance. Included in the number who readily volunteered homes and services was Miss Sally E. Tompkins, a well-known Richmond lady. In the spacious mansion of Judge John Roberson, she established her hospital at her own expense. When other private nursing homes were ordered to be turned over to the direct supervision of the Confederate government, she refused to give up the one she had so carefully planned. This refusal created a dilemma, since in the "Old South" it was unheard of to compel a lady to comply with the law. After careful consideration, the civil and military authorities gave her a "special commission" in the Confederate army with the rank of Captain. And, then, as Captain Sally Tomp-

---

[24]Fannie Beers, Memories, 42; 215-217.

[illegible] in this blessed 'Refuge' no mortality occurred [illegible]."[24]

[illegible] what numerous Southern women from all sections [illegible] of the sick and wounded, one Virginia lady re-[illegible] a commission in the Confederate Army with the title [illegible]. [illegible] private individuals to lend their assistance. [illegible] number who readily volunteered homes and ser-[illegible] Sally E. Tompkins, a well-known Richmond [illegible]. In the spacious mansion of Judge John Robertson, she [illegible] her hospital at her own expense. When other [illegible] homes were ordered to be turned over to the [illegible] supervision of the Confederate government, she re-[illegible] a dilemma, since in the "Old South" it was [illegible] to compel a lady to comply with the law. After [illegible] consideration, the civil and military authorities [illegible] of Captain. And, then, as Captain Sally Tomp-

---

[24] [illegible]

kins, the superintendent of Robertson Hospital, she could give herself authority to not only go ahead with her work, but to commandeer the services of others. Also, she was given official medicines and supplies. Her hospital was noted as one of the best in Richmond. After visiting the hospital, Mrs. Chestnut remarked that "the men under Miss Sally's care looked so clean and comfortable- cheerful one might say". Throughout the four years of the war, from the battle of Manassas until June 13, 1865, Miss Sally nursed over thirteen hundred sick and wounded.[25]

The practice of caring for the sick and wounded soldiers in the homes was carried out in all parts of the South. The diaries and memoirs relate interesting experiences and anecdotes about the soldiers who were "guests" in their homes. Often the presence of a gallant young soldier caused considerable disturbance in the hearts of the young ladies of the house and community, and many of the "flutterings" created by the presence were confided to the diaries.

---

[25]Matthew Page Andrews, The Women of the South in War Times, 127-131; Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., 112, Mrs. Fielding Lewis Taylor, "Captain Sally Tompkins", Confederate Veteran, xxiv, 1916.

At the beginning of the war, Miss Tompkins, had been a wealthy woman. However, as in the case of most of the wealthy persons in the South, the cause of the Confederacy took her fortune. She died in the Home for Needy Confederate Women at Richmond.

[illegible] Superintendent of Robertson hospital, she could [illegible] authority to not only go ahead with her work, [illegible] the services of others. Also, she was [illegible] medicines and supplies. Her hospital was [illegible] Chestnut remarked that "the men under Miss [illegible] were looked so clean and comfortable- cheerful [illegible]". [illegible] Manassas until June 13, 1865, Miss Sally [illegible].

[illegible] of caring for the sick and wounded soldiers [illegible] was carried out in all parts of the South. [illegible] and memoirs relate interesting experiences and [illegible] the soldiers who were "guests" in their [illegible]. [illegible] the presence of a gallant young soldier caused [illegible] disturbance in the hearts of the young ladies [illegible] community, and many of the "fluttering" [illegible] presence were confided to the diaries.

[illegible] Page Andrews, The Women of the South in War Times, [illegible] B. Chestnut, op. cit., 116, [illegible] Lewis [illegible] "Captain Sally Tompkins". [illegible], xxiv, [illegible].

[illegible] However, as in the case of [illegible] in the South, the cause of the [illegible]. She died in the Home for Needy [illegible] Richmond.

However, the billeting of the wounded and sick soldiers in private homes created problems and during the later years it was violently objected to by the commanding officers. It is easy to see that the care and hospitality shown to them would appeal to the sick, tired, ragged, hungry and homesick Confederates. Consequently, requests for extension of leaves were numerous. On the other hand, active service in the field was preferred to the discipline and confinement of the hospitals.

From this, far from complete account of the activities of the woman in the field of hospital service, it can readily be seen that many noble women were busy. Our biograhpers have not neglected the statesmen and military heroes of the Confederacy, yet, they have overlooked characters and careers "from which heroes are made. It is fitting that the world remembers such women as Ella Newsome Trader, Kate Cummings, Fannie Beers, Phoebe Yates Pember and the many other gallant women in the South, who were pioneers in the field of nursing and rightfully deserve the title of the "Angels of the Hospitals".

As an outstanding example of the womanly heroism of such women, a sketch of the life and work of Ella Newsome Trader, known as the "Florence Nightingale of the Southern Army" will be included in this work. She was a native of Brandon,

However, the billeting of the wounded and sick soldiers in private homes created problems and during the later [illegible] it was violently objected to by the commanding officers. It is easy to see that the care and hospitality shown to [illegible] appeal to the sick, tired, ragged, hungry and [illegible] Confederates. Consequently requests for extension of leaves were numerous. On the other hand, active service in the field was preferred to the discipline and confinement of the hospitals.

[illegible] this, far from complete account of the activities of [illegible] in the field of hospital service, it can readily be seen that many noble women were busy. Our biographers have not neglected the statesmen and military heroes of the Confederacy, but, they have overlooked characters and carcasses from which heroes are made. It is fitting that the world remembers such women as Ella Newsome Trader, Kate [illegible], [illegible] Beers, Phoebe Yates Pember and the many other gallant women in the South, who were pioneers in the field of nursing and rightfully deserve the title of the "Angels of the Hospitals".

As an outstanding example of the womanly heroism of such women, a sketch of the life and work of Ella Newsome Trader, known as the "Florence Nightingale of the Southern Army" will be included in this work. She was a native of Brandon,

Mississippi and the daughter of Reverend T. S. N. King, a Baptist minister of prominence and ability. The family moved to Arkansas prior to the war. She married a well-educated, wealthy physician, Dr. Frank Newsome, who at his death left her a large fortune. At the outbreak of the war she was living in Winchester, Tennessee for the purpose of educating two younger sisters. Almost immediately she hurried the sisters home and volunteered her services in the Confederacy. As soon as she was accepted, she took a number of her own servants with her to Memphis, where she began her hospital work. Because of her unusual executive ability, she was chosen matron of the Overton Hospital. She remained in that capacity until the ladies of Memphis were able to carry on without her.

From Memphis, "taking her servants and a car load of supplies", wrote Miss Cummings, "she went to Bowling Green, Kentucky, where she found the miserable suffering and want in the hospitals". At that time, because of the distance from the supply centers, the conditions in the western hospitals were even worse than those in the eastern units. When she arrived she found no suitable buildings and far too few supplies. But, as an eye witness said, she went to work at four o'clock in the morning and labored until midnight to aid the suffering in whatever manner she could.

In a short time General Floyd and his troops arrived in the town. When his Surgeon-in-chief heard of Mrs. Newsome and her work, he urgently insisted that she take sole charge of the entire hospital units at Bowling Green. This position she capably held until the fall of Forts Henry and Donaldson. Then, she went to Nashville, Tennessee to convert the Howard High School into a hospital for the wounded of these battles. Her stay at Nashville, however, was brief. The Confederates were soon forced to evacuate Nashville, and the problem of moving the wounded fell to Mrs. Newsome. She supervised the placing of the sick and wounded upon cars and the moving of them to Winchester. There, as was customary, all the churches and other public buildings were placed at her disposal to be converted into emergency hospitals. As a tribute to the aid rendered them by Mrs. Newsome and her staff, the soldiers called the place "Soldiers' Paradise".

From Winchester, she went with the patients to Atlanta to assist in the organization of the hospital units there. But she did not remain at Atlanta long, for when the news of the battle of Shiloh reached her, she hurriedly took her servants and supplies to Corinth where the injured from the battlefields were being taken. In a letter written to a

friend she described the pitiful conditions she found there:

> The scenes in the Tishomingo Hotel Hospital after the battle of Shiloh beggars descriptions. Every hand of space on the floor, as well as all the beds, bunks and cots were covered with the mangled bodies of badly wounded soldiers. All had come from the battle field several miles distant, many having been conveyed in rough wagons over muddy roads.
>
> When they arrived at any of the hospital buildings, the first thing was for one of the women attendants to get some coffee and bread to revive their bodies so that the wounds could be dressed as soon as possible. Next was to find a hospital suit in order to rid them of the muddy and bloody clothes in which they had fallen.
>
> I left the Tishomingo Hotel in charge of Mrs. Gilmore and Miss Cummings and took the Corinth House Hospital where there was not a corner in which a woman could lay her head or sleep.

Mrs. Newsome remained in the hospitals of Georgia and Tennessee until 1864. In praise of her, Miss Cummings, who knew her as she went about her work, wrote:

> I doubt if any war ever developed a more patriotic and whole-souled woman than she was during those four years of trial. In appearance she was lovely and youthful to girlishness and her countenance expressed gentleness, goodness and purity. But, when duty called her perseverance was inflexible... She once told me that as soon as the war was over

[illegible] described the pitiful conditions she found there:

> The scenes in the Tishomingo Hotel [illegible]ital after the battle of Shiloh [illegible]ggars descriptions. Every hand of [illegible]ace on the floor, as well as all the [illegible]ds, bunks and cots were covered with [illegible] mangled bodies of badly wounded [illegible]oldiers. All had come from the battle [illegible]ield several miles distant, many having [illegible] conveyed in rough wagons over mud-[illegible].
>
> When they arrived at any of the hos-[illegible]ital buildings, the first thing was for one of the women attendants to get some [illegible]es and bread to revive their bodies [illegible] that the woman could be dressed as [illegible] as possible. Next was to find a [illegible]ital suit in order to rid them of the [illegible] and bloody clothes in which they [illegible].
>
> I left the Tishomingo Hotel in charge of Mrs. Gilmore and Miss Cummings and [illegible] [illegible]e was not a corner in which a woman [illegible]ould lay her head or sleep.

[illegible] [illegible]ome remained in the hospitals of Georgia and [illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible] more patriotic and whole-souled woman than she was during those four years of trial. In appearance she was lovely and youthful to girlishness and her countenance expressed gentleness, goodness and purity. But, when duty called her perseverance was inflexible... She once told me that as soon as the war was over

> she intended opening an institution for soldiers' orphans. Of course, at that time, we never thought of such a thing as being defeated. She, like thousands of others, lost her fortune by our failure. But the memory of her noble life spent in the cause of suffering humanity during our war will ever remain as a memorial of what can be done by a woman.[26]

The diaries and memoirs of the Southern women, on the conditions in the hospitals, are excellent sources for the study of conditions in the Confederacy. They reflect the lives and problems of its people. The tasks which confronted the Confederate government were present in the hospitals; an effective working organization had to be created; those who were to serve had to be mobilized; equipment and supplies assembled and men and materials transported. Nowhere was the blockade felt more keenly than in the hospitals. Then, too, every contingent of wounded and sick reflected the traditions of social classes and sections. By their manners, speech and attitudes they presented a cross-section of the Confederacy. There were the sons of the

---

[26]Fannie Beers, Memories; Kate Cummings, Journal of Hospital Life and Gleanings from the Southland; Matthew Page Andrews, Women of the South; J. Evaise Richards, The Florence Nightingale of the Southern Army.

and intended opening an institution for [illegible]' orphans. Of course, at that time, we never thought of such a thing as being defeated. She, like thousands of others, lost her fortune by our failure. But the memory of her noble life spent in the [illegible] of suffering humanity during [illegible] will ever remain as a memorial of what can be done by a woman.[26]

The diaries and memoirs of the Southern women, on the conditions in the hospitals, are excellent sources for the study of conditions in the Confederacy. They reflect the lives and problems of its people. The tasks which confronted the Confederate government were present in the hospitals; no effective nursing organization had to be present; those who were to serve had to be mobilized; equipment and supplies assembled and men and materials transported. Nowhere was the blockade felt more keenly than in the hospitals. Thus, too, every contingent of wounded and sick reflected the traditions of [illegible]. By their manners, speech and attitudes they presented a cross-section of the Confederacy. There were the sons of the

---

[26] Thomas Peters, Reporting; Kate Cummings, Journal of Hospital Life and Diversions from the Southland; Matthew Page Andrews, Women of the South; J. Eloise Richards, The Diaries Reminiscences of the Southern Army.

wealthy planter, young gentlemen who had been educated abroad or in the large universities; the sons of the middle class farmers who were loyal although were never large slave holders and in some cases possessed none at all; and there were the sturdy up-country patriots whose manner of dress, learning and even ideas of food were characteristic of their isolation. An observing matron recalled how their letters mirrored the divergent views of the classes united together in the cause of the South.

On the other hand, the states' prejudices were carried on in the hospital life, and the distinctions of social classes and prejudices were discussed in such a manner that "One listening to them might suppose the whole Southern army, with the exception of the few companies from the speakers' section of the country were cowards". The planters' sone were derided by the up-country soldiers who insisted that "them fellars from the seaboard let us do all the fighting". The Georgians loved to romance about how the South Carolinians laid down at such a battle, refusing to charge, and how they had to charge right over them". The Mississippians talked of the backwardness of the Tennessee troops who "would never go into action unless led by the commanding-general". The Virginians told stories of the rowdyism of

the Maryland volunteers, who "were always spreeing in the city and dancing attendance on the women". The North Carolinians were taunted by all sides. In spite of the gallant record made by them on the battle-field, one of the ladies was of the opinion that "taken in a mass, the North Carolinians were the most forlorn specimens" and that they were taunted and became the subjects of ridicule because of their "insufferable drawl" and their hesitancy about eating food they were not accustomed to eat at home.[27]

However, the women who were serving the incapacitated Confederate soldiers were not concerned with prejudices nor class distinctions. They were there to render aid and not because of any romantic reason- they did not wish to be considered heroines, the prevailing conception of feminine propriety prevented that. It was left to our generation to praise the women who could say, as one of them wrote, "For myself no blessing has crowned my life more highly prized than the God given privilege I enjoyed during the four years of the war, of ministering to the boys who wore the ragged unornamental gray."[28]

---

[27]Phoebe Yates Pember, op. cit., 77-78.

[28]Fannie Beers, op. cit., 317.

[illegible] volunteers, who "were always spreading in the [illegible] on the battle-field, one of the ladies [illegible] that "taken in a mass, the North Caro-[illegible] most forlorn specimens" and that they were [illegible] became the subjects of ridicule because of [illegible] drawl" and their hesitancy about eating [illegible] were not accustomed to eat at home.[27]

[illegible], the women who were serving the incapacitated [illegible] soldiers were not concerned with prejudices [illegible] distinctions. They were there to render aid and [illegible] of any romantic reason- they did not wish to be [illegible] heroines, the prevailing conception of feminine [illegible]

[illegible] has crowned my life more highly prized [illegible] given privilege I enjoyed during the four years [illegible] of ministering to the boys who wore the ragged [illegible].[28]

---

[27] [illegible] op. cit., [illegible].

[28] [illegible] op. cit., 317.

Chapter 6

Confederate Women Spies

Foremost among the well-known women who served the Confederate States of America in the capacity of a spy, was the much talked about Belle Boyd. Granted that she rendered valuable services to the Confederacy, nevertheless, it seems that if the story told in her, In Camp and Prison, was a true one, she would have been held in greater honor throughout the South. When, as a matter of fact, she was rarely mentioned by her contemporaries who were writing during or after the War between the States. Strangely enough, in all the memories and diaries read for this Story of the Confederacy, there was only one young lady who mentioned having met Belle

Chapter 6

[illegible]

[illegible] among the well-known women who served [illegible] States of America in the capacity of [illegible] much talked about Belle Boyd. Gran- [illegible] she rendered valuable services to the Con- [illegible], nevertheless, it seems that if the story [illegible] In Camp and Prison, was a true one, [illegible] have been held in greater honor through- [illegible]. When, as a matter of fact, she was [illegible] mentioned by her contemporaries who were writ- [illegible] or after the War between the States. [illegible] in all the memories and diaries [illegible] this Story of the Confederacy, there was [illegible] young lady who mentioned having met Belle

Boyd. The young bride of a Confederate officer in her story of A Virginia Girl in the Civil War, spoke of meeting Miss Boyd at Mrs. Rixey's boarding house at Culpepper, Virginia. As Mrs. Grey was introduced to her roommate, "a young lady who seemed to be nineteen or twenty", she thought her "rather young to be travelling alone", especially since she was "unmarried which made all the difference in the world". Later, when the guests assembled in the parlor, the stylish young lady "was an object of special interest to every woman present because she was exceedingly well-dressed", and it had been ages since they had seen so much elegance. Besides, "she was a brilliant talker" explained Mrs. Grey, "and soon everyone in the room was attracted to her, especially the men- indeed I am afraid she did not care particularly for the women, so at first we were a little piqued". But, after discovering how devoted she was to the Southern cause, they willingly forgave her for making wall-flowers of them.

After supper, the guests at the boarding-house sat around while Miss Boyd told her story. She had come directly from Washington where she had been a prisoner of the United States Government. While telling of her exploits, Mrs. Grey recalled how "she showed us her

watch and told us how the prisoners in Washington had made up the money among themselves and presented it to her before she left".

When morning came the fact dawned upon Mrs. Grey that "her bedfellow was the South's famous female spy". The amazement of the young bride was further increased when she saw Miss Boyd in making her morning toilette, take a large bottle of cologne and pour it into the basin in which she was going to bathe, for "who in the South had seen any cologne for months".

That evening the soldier husband of the Confederate lady called at the house to see his bride. He was far from a romantic looking bridegroom in his "unkept, unshorn, patched, ragged and dirty condition- a travesty of his former foppish self". As he was preparing to take his leave, Miss Boyd "came down the staircase carrying a large blanket shawl". In presenting the shawl to Lieutenant Grey she said "I cant let you go back to camp in this thin jacket while I have this shawl. It is serving our country while it protects our soldiers from the cold". Needless to say, the young couple were deeply impressed with her generosity and regretted her departure for Richmond. She went away "looking as if she had the weight of the Confederacy on her shoul-

ders".[1]

According to her own account, Belle Boyd was born in Martinsburg, Virginia in 1844 in a "pretty two-storied house, the walls of which were completely hidden by roses and honey suckle... in front of which flowed a broad, clear, rapid stream bordered by silver maples".[2]

At the age of twelve she was set to Mount Washington College to finish her school days. Then, when she

---

[1]Myrtle Avary, A Virginia Girl in the Civil War, 51-58.

[2]Belle Boyd, In Camp and Prison. This book was written in London in 1865, while Mrs. Hardinger (Belle Boyd) was without "money and driven to almost distraction" by the cruel news that her husband was in a Federal prison in Washington. An English "friend of the South" made an appeal for aid for her through The Morning Herald, a pro-Southern newspaper. The friend had found her "cut off from all pecuniary resources at home" and in such dire straits that "she had to part with her jewelry piece by piece, including her wedding presents, to pay weekly bills". After writing the narrative of her adventures, imprisonments, and sufferings, she "received threatening intimidations that her husband's life depended upon the suppression of her story". The London newspaper published her story and soon "the most generous offers of assistance were literally showered upon her by ladies and gentlement of the highest and best classes in England".

The above statement was quoted from the introduction to her story which was published at London in 1865.

Upon her death in 1900, the New York Times stated that "Belle Boyd was related to a number of the most noted families of Virginia. The Hon. Charles J. Faulkner, minister to France, under the Buchanan administration, was her cousin. The Boyds were related to Dandridges and Hoges."

New York Times, June 13, 1900
Willis Evans, History of Berkeley County

[illegible]

[illegible] to her own account, Belle Boyd was born [illegible] Virginia in 1844 in a "pretty two-[illegible] [illegible] suckle... in front of which flowed a [illegible], rapid stream bordered by silver maples".[2] [illegible] to finish her school days. Then, when she

---

[1] [illegible]

[2] Belle Boyd, In Camp and Prison. This book was written [illegible] "money and driven to almost distraction" by the [illegible] that her husband was in a Federal prison in Washington. An English "friend of the South" made an appeal for aid for her through The Morning Herald, a pro-Southern newspaper. The friend had found her "cut off from all pecuniary resources at home" and in such dire straits that "she had to part with her jewelry piece by piece, including [illegible] presents, to pay weekly bills". After writing [illegible] "[illegible] life depended upon the suppression of her story". The London newspaper published her story and soon "the [illegible] offers of assistance were literally showered upon her by ladies and gentlemen of the highest and best [illegible] in England".

[illegible] was published at London in 1865.

[illegible] "Belle Boyd was related to a [illegible] of Virginia. [illegible] were related to Dandridges and Hoges."

New York Times, June 13, 1900

Willis Evans, History of Berkeley County

was sixteen, she made her debut "into the world in Washington city, with all the high hopes and thoughtless joy, natural to that age". Her first season, during the winter of 1860 and 61, was a very happy occasion, which included "every kind of amusement and every form of pleasure".

As before mentioned, the story of her war services rests mainly on "her own none too trustworthy accounts!"[3] It was in April 1861 that Virginia seceded, and along with the many volunteers was her father B. R. Boyd of Martinsburg. He was, according to his daughter "offered that grade in the army to which his social position entitled him... but like many Virginia gentlemen, he preferred to enlist in the ranks, thereby leaving the pay and emoluments of an officer's commission to some other, whose means were not so ample". Attached to that famous regiment, the Second Virginia Regiment, he won distinction in the defense of the northern section of Virginia.

Shortly after Virginia had passed her Ordinance of Secession, northern troops invaded the border counties

---

[3] Dictionary of American Biography, 11, 524.

[illegible]

[illegible] to that age". Her first season, during the winter of 1860 and 61, was a very happy occasion, which included "every kind of amusement and every [illegible]".

[illegible] mentioned, the story of her war services [illegible] mainly on "her own none too trustworthy accounts."[3] It was in April 1861 that Virginia seceded, and along with the many volunteers was her father S. S. Boyd of Martinsburg. He was, according to his daughter "offered [illegible] in the army to which his social position entitled him... but like many Virginia gentlemen, he preferred to enlist in the ranks, thereby leaving the [illegible] means were not so ample". Attached to that [illegible] regiment, the Second Virginia Regiment, he won distinction in the defense of the northern section of Virginia.

[illegible] after Virginia had passed her Ordinance of Secession, northern troops invaded the border counties

---

[illegible]

and Martinsburg was occupied. Many instances of insults and assaults were related by Miss Boyd. One of the most exciting moments was when she shot to death a Yankee soldier who abused her mother. As the story went, her mother objected to the hoisting of the Federal flag over the Boyd home. In the altercation which followed the objections, Mrs. Boyd was mistreated and her courageous young daughter shot the intruder and reported what she had done to the commanding officer. At the trial which followed, the young lady was exonerated, after an investigation of the circumstances surrounding the incident.

As long as the Federals occupied Martinsburg, she exorted all her feminine charms and wit to learn information concerning the positions and designs of the enemies. And, "whatever I heard", wrote Miss Boyd, "I regularly committed to paper, and when ever an opportunity offered I sent my secrets by a trusty messenger to General J.E.B. Stuart, or some other officer in command of the Confederate troops". On several occasions, these messages fell in the hands of the enemy. By means of a careful investigation, the Federal officers identified the handwriting as belonging to her. She received the following terse warning:

> Whoever shall give food, ammunition, information to or aid and abet the enemies of the United States Government in any manner whatsoever shall suffer death, or what ever penalty the honorable court-martial shall see fit to inflict.

From then until capture, Miss Boyd was considered a "dangerous suspect" and every movement was carefully watched by the enemy. As she was returning home from a visit to an aunt at Front Royal, she was arrested at Winchester. She was carried to Baltimore, to answer to the charges of aiding the Confederacy, in violation to the above quoted warning. While awaiting the orders of the Federal government, she was confined in the Eutaw House. Since visitors were allowed, she had many callers. "Not merely her personal friends, but those who knew her by reputation for Baltimore was Confederate to the core".

Eventually, she was permitted to return to Martinsburg under strict surveillance. For some time, permission to leave the town was forbidden to her. But, after careful maneuvering, she managed to obtain a permit to visit her aunt at Front Royal. As it happened, the staff of General Shields, the commanding officer of the Yankee troops of that section, was quartered in the home of her aunt. On the night before the departure of the army for a surprise

attack on General Thomas Jackson, a council of war was held in the drawing room of the home where Miss Boyd was visiting. Directly above the drawing room was a bedroom containing a closet with a very small hole in the floor. Lying on the floor with her ear to the hole, Miss Boyd was able to hear much of the discussion of the plans of the attack. Soon after one o'clock the meeting ended. Quietly slipping to her room, she recorded in cipher everything which she had heard. Them, daring to go alone, she rode through the night with the message to Colonel Turner Ashby of the Confederate Army.

On another occasion, she warned General Jackson that if he would strike before Federal reinforcements arrived, he would save the bridges which the Federals were planning to destroy, and the roads would be kept open for an advance on General Banks. On that occasion, she ran over the open fields, unmindful of the fact that her dark blue dress with a white apron made an easy target for the picket shot and shell. In the face of so great a danger she considered that her "escape was providential" for, "although I was not hit", she recalled later, "the rifle balls flew thick and fast about me, and more than one struck the ground so near my feet as to throw the dust in my eyes". As she neared the astonished Confeder-

[illegible] Thomas Jackson, a council of war was [illegible] in the [illegible] room of the home where Miss Boyd was [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] with a very small hole in the floor. [illegible] much of the discussion of the plans of the at- [illegible]. [illegible] after [illegible] [illegible] heard. Then, daring to go alone, she rode [illegible] with the message to Colonel Turner [illegible] Confederate Army.

[illegible] [illegible] and the roads would be kept open for an ad- [illegible] General Banks. On that occasion, she ran over [illegible] fields, unmindful of the fact that her dark [illegible] dress with a white apron made an easy target for [illegible]. [illegible] considered that her "escape was providential" [illegible], "[illegible] I was not hit", she recalled later, "the [illegible] flew thick and fast about me, and more than [illegible] ground so near my feet as to throw the [illegible] eyes". As she neared the astonished Confeder-

ate lines, she waved her white bonnet as a sign for them to advance. Her sign was understood by the First Maryland "rebel" Infantry and Hays' Louisiana Brigade which gave her a rousing cheer and dashed upon the town in a wild charge. The attack was followed by a rapid advance of the main body of the Confederates who routed the Federals. In behalf of the army, General Jackson wrote her the following expression of appreciation:

May 23, 1862

Miss Belle Boyd,
I thank you for myself and the army for the immense service that you have rendered your country today.
Hastily, I am your friend,
T. J. Jackson, C. S. A.

In July 1862, after the retaking of Fort Royal by the Federal troops, she was again arrested by Major Sherman acting upon the order of Secretary Stanton. Luckily for her, while the Federal officers were searching her possessions, her loyal maid "acting on a sudden impulse, made a swoop upon the repository of the greatest part of the evidence that remained... and rushing at headlong speed downstairs she gained the kitchen in time to burn all the papers". Following her arrest she was carried to old Capitol Prison in Washington. In answer to Secretary Stanton's demand that she take the oath of allegiance, she replied:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and Hays' Louisiana Brigade which gave [illegible] heer and dashed upon the town in a wild [illegible]

[illegible] of the Confederates who rooted the Fed-[illegible] of the army, General Jackson wrote her [illegible] expression of appreciation:

May 23, 1862

[illegible],
I thank you for myself and
[illegible] for the immense service that
[illegible] have rendered your country today.
Hastily, I am your friend,
T. J. Jackson, C. S. A.

[illegible] 1862, after the retaking of Fort Royal by the [illegible], she was again arrested by Major Sherman [illegible] the order of Secretary Stanton. Luckily for her, [illegible] officers were searching her possessions, [illegible] "acting on a sudden impulse, made a swoop [illegible] of the greatest part of the evidence [illegible]... and rushing at headlong speed downstairs [illegible]

[illegible] her arrest she was carried to old Capitol [illegible] Washington. In answer to Secretary Stanton's [illegible] that she take the oath of allegiance, she replied:

> Tell Mr. Stanton for me, I hope when I commence the oath of allegiance to the United States Government, my tongue will cleave to the roof of my mouth, and that if I ever sign one line that will show to the world that I owe the United States Government the slightest allegiance I hope my arm may fall paralyzed.

For lack of sufficient evidence, she was returned after a month of imprisonment. Instead of returning to Martinsburg, she "acting on the advice of General Jackson" went to visit relatives and friends in Knoxville, Mobile and Charleston. She was warmly received and extensively entertained. Soon after her return home in the summer of 1863, she was again arrested and carried to Carroll Prison in Washington. She remained in the prison from August until December 1, 1863. In speaking of this imprisonment, she wrote:

> Had I been a queen or a reigning princess, my every movement could not have been more faithfully chronciled at this period of my imprisonment. My health was bulletined for the gratification of the public... Thus from the force of circumstances, and not through any desire of my own, I became a celebrity.

Upon her release, she went to Richmond for the purpose of interviewing the Confederate government. In March, 1864

Tell Mr. Stanton for me, I hope when I commence the oath of allegiance to the United States Government, my tongue will cleave to the roof of my mouth, and that if I ever sign one line that will show to the world that I owe the United States Government the slightest allegiance I hope my arm may fall paralyzed.

[illegible] of sufficient evidence, she was returned after [illegible] imprisonment. Instead of returning to [illegible], [illegible] "acting on the advice of General Jackson" went [illegible] relatives and friends in Knoxville, Mobile and [illegible]. She was warmly received and extensively [illegible]. Soon after her return, [illegible] in the summer of [illegible], [illegible] again arrested and carried to Carroll Prison [illegible] Washington. She remained in the prison from [illegible] until December 1, 1863. In speaking of this imprisonment, [illegible] wrote:

Had I been a queen or a reigning princess, my every movement could not have been more faithfully chronicled at this period of my imprisonment. My health was bulletined for the gratification of the public... Thus from the force of circumstances, and not through any desire of my own, I became a celebrity.

[illegible] release, she went to Richmond for the purpose [illegible] the Confederate government. In March, 18[illegible]

she went to Wilmington, "bearing dispatches of the Confederate government". She took passage on a blockade runner by the name of Greyhound. This boat, commanded by a Captain Henry, late of the staff of General Jackson, was captured by the Federal Connecticut. Having been taken a prisoner, Miss Boyd was in the charge of an attractive Lieutenant Hardinge. And, as from the beginning, romance entered the story. Before the voyage was over, he made an avowal of his love to his youthful and strikingly beautiful prisoner. Her captor-lover took her to Boston to await orders from Washington. When the orders arrived, she was condemned as a dangerous enemy of the Federal Government and ordered out of the United States with the warning that if she were again "caught in the United States, or by the United States authorities she would be shot".

Going by way of Canada, Miss Boyd went to England. In August of the same year she married Lieutenant Sam Wylde Hardinge, her handsome captor. The Morning Post of London carried the following account:

> St. James Church, Piccadilly was yesterday the scene of a romantic episode in the fratricidal war now raging on the American continent; as, at

[illegible] Wilmington, "bearing dispatches of the Confeder-[illegible]". She took passage on a blockade runner by [illegible] Greyhound. This boat, commanded by a Captain [illegible], [illegible] of the staff of General Jackson, was captured [illegible] Connecticut. Having been taken a prisoner, [illegible] was in the charge of an attractive Lieutenant [illegible]. And, as from the beginning, romance entered the [illegible]. Before the voyage was over, he made an avowal of [illegible] his youthful and strikingly beautiful prisoner. [illegible]-later took her to Boston to await orders from [illegible]. [illegible] enemy of the Federal Government and ordered [illegible] United States with the warning that if she were [illegible] in the United States, or by the United States [illegible] would be shot".

[illegible] way of Canada, Miss Boyd went to England. [illegible] the same year she married Lieutenant Sam Wylde [illegible], her handsome captor. The Morning Post of London [illegible] the following account:

> [illegible] James Church, Piccadilly was [illegible] the scene of a romantic epi-[illegible] in the fratricidal war now rag-[illegible] on the American continent; as, at

> the altar of that sacred edifice, Miss Belle Boyd, whose name and fame are deservedly cherished in the Southern states, pledged her troth to Mr. Sam Wylde Hardinge, formerly an officer in the Federal naval service. The marriage attracted a considerable number of English and American sympathizers in the cause of the South, anxious to see the lady whose heroism has made her name famous ... Mr. Hardinge needs no excuse for the step he has taken in renouncing his allegiance to the Federal cause and espousing the "fair rebel" whom he has now sworn to love, honor, and cherish... for before meeting Miss Boyd his Southern sympathies were notorious in the North, where it was well known that he had long tendered his resignation which Secretary Wells refused to accept.

Leaving his bride in England, Lieutenant Hardinge, in the fall of 1864, returned to the United States "for the simple purpose of communicating with his bride's family in Virginia". Shortly after his arrival at Washington he was arrested on the charge of treason and imprisoned in Carroll Prison. He was held there by the Federal Government until February 3, 1865.

As a conclusion to her story, Miss Boyd urged the English people to discountenance the rumors which were circulating that the Southern leaders had been responsible for the assassination of President Lincoln. It was her opinion that such "foul charges" were made by Mr. Stanton in order

[illegible] altar of that sacred edifice, Miss [illegible]le Boyd, whose name and fame are de-[illegible]vedly cherished in the Southern [illegible], pledged her troth to Mr. Sam [illegible] Hardinge, formerly an officer in [illegible] attracted a considerable number of English [illegible] American sympathizers in the cause [illegible] the South, anxious to see the lady [illegible] heroism has made her name famous ... Mr. Hardinge needs no excuse for [illegible] he has taken in renouncing his allegiance to the Federal cause and es-[illegible]sing the "fair rebel" whom he has now [illegible] to love, honor, and cherish... For [illegible] meeting Miss Boyd his Southern sym-[illegible]ies were notorious in the North, where it was well known that he had long ten-dered his resignation which Secretary Wells refused to accept.

[illegible] the Fall of 1864, [illegible] simple purpose of communicating with his bride's family in Virginia. [illegible] he was arrested on the charge of treason and imprisoned in Carroll Prison. He was held there by the Federal Government until February 4, 1865.

As a conclusion to her story, Miss Boyd urged the Eng-lish people to discountenance the rumors which were circu-lating that the Southern leaders had been responsible for the assassination of President Lincoln. It was her opinion that such "foul charges" were made by Mr. Stanton in order

to "induce the European powers to withdraw their support of Southern belligerency". She declared them to be unfounded and ridiculous. For "in truth," she wrote in closing, "our people have even more to regret than the North".[4]

Another woman famous for the services rendered the Confederate government in the capacity of a spy was Rose O'Neal Greenhow, one of the most cultured, wealthy and influen-

---

[4]Her colorful career continued after the war had ended. Upon the death of her young husband, she went on the English stage, making her debut as Pauline in the Lady of Lyon, at the Theater Royal in Manchester, in the latter part of 1866. A successful season encouraged her to try the same career in America. She made her first appearance at Ben de Bar's Theater in St. Louis. This was followed by a tour of the South and Southeast. In January 1868, she appeared in New York in The Honeymoon. In 1869, she married John Hammon, a former officer in the British navy; and Nathaniel High of Toledo in 1885.

On February 22, 1886, she presented a dramatic narrative of her exploits as a Confederate spy. This type of lecture she continued until her death in Milwaukee of a heart attack. Dion Boucicault's play Belle Lamar is said to have been based on her experiences.

The announcement of her death was carried in the June 13, 1900 issue of the New York Times:

> "Her passing recalls another leaf in the history of the war... Living only in her undying love for the cause of the Southern people, and debarred by her sex from carrying a musket, she dedicated to the Confederate army this only weapon she possessed- a woman's beauty and a woman's wit."
>
> Dictionary of American Biography
> The New York Times, June 13, 1900.

[illegible] ligerency". She declared them to be un-
[illegible] iculous. For "in truth," she wrote in
[illegible]

[illegible] ent in the capacity of a spy was Rose [illegible]
[illegible] of the most cultured, wealthy and influen-

[illegible] career continued after the war had en-
[illegible] the death of her young husband, she went
[illegible] stage, making her debut as Pauline in the
[illegible] at the Theater Royal in Manchester. In
[illegible] part of 1866. A successful season en-
[illegible] to try the same career in America. She
[illegible] first appearance at Ben de Bar's Theater
[illegible] This was followed by a tour of the
[illegible] In January 1867, she [illegible]
[illegible] in The Honeymoon. In 1869, she [illegible]
[illegible] a former officer in the British navy;
[illegible] High of Toledo in 1885.
[illegible] 22, 1900, she presented a dramatic
[illegible] her exploits as a Confederate spy. This
[illegible] she continued until her death in
[illegible] a heart attack. Dion Boucicault's play
[illegible] is said to have been based on her ex-
[illegible]
[illegible] cement of her death was carried in the
[illegible] 11, 1900 issue of the New York Times:

> "Her passing recalls another
> in the history of the war... [illegible]
> ly in her undying love for the
> of the Southern people, and debarred by
> her sex from carrying a musket, she del-
> ivated to the Confederate army this only
> [illegible] she possessed- a woman's beauty
> [illegible] a woman's wit."

Dictionary of American Biography
The New York Times, June 17, 1900.

tial women of Washington.[5] The O'Neal sisters, Rose and Ellen, were born in Maryland, but most of their girlhood days were spent in Washington. The older sister Ellen married James Madison Cutts, the nephew of Dolly Madison, and they were proud but poor parents of the famous beauty Adele Cutts who married Stephen A. Douglas. The younger sister Rose married Robert Greenhow, a noted linguist and translator in the Department of State.[6] For many years their home was a favorite meeting place of many of the most distinguished scholars of the Capitol.

From the beginning of the war, Mrs. Greenhow acted as a spy and agent for the Confederate states. Her story My Imprisonment and First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington, published in London, was a bitter denunciation of the Federal government and its policies. Her position

---

[5]Virginia Clay Clopton, Belle of the Fifties, 35.

[6]Greenhow, Robert (1800-1850) was a physician, linguist, historian. He was born in Richmond, Virginia. His father Robert Greenhow had married Mary Ann Wills, who lost her life in the Richmond Theater fire when Robert was eleven years of age. Young Robert was graduated from William and Mary in 1816; studied medicine under David Hosack and in Paris. He left a large medical practice to devote his time to study of languages and to become translator for the State Department at Washington from 1829-1850. He wrote a History of Oregon and California

[illegible] of Washington.[5] The O'Neal sisters, Rose and [illegible], were born in Maryland, but most of their girl-hood days were spent in Washington. The older sister Ellen married James Madison Cutts, the nephew of Dolly [illegible], and [illegible] Adele Cutts who married Stephen A. Douglas. The younger sister Rose married Robert Greenhow, a [illegible] linguist and translator in the Department of [illegible].[6] For many years their home was a favorite meeting place of many of the most distinguished scholars of the Capital.

[illegible] beginning of the war, Mrs. Greenhow acted as a [illegible] agent for the Confederate states. Her story [illegible] and First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington, published in London, was a bitter denunciation of [illegible] government and its policies. Her position

---

[5] [illegible] Clay Clopton, Belle of the Fifties, [illegible].

[6] Greenhow, Robert (1800-1850) was a physician, linguist, historian. He was born in Richmond, Virginia. His father Robert Greenhow had married Mary Ann Wills, who lost her life in the Richmond Theater fire when Robert was [illegible] years of age. Young Robert was graduated from William and Mary in 1819; studied medicine under David Hosack and [illegible]. He left a large medical practice to devote his time [illegible] of languages and to become translator for the State Department at Washington from 1829-1850. He wrote a history of [illegible] and California.

in Washington made it possible for her to obtain valuable secrets of official nature. Them, she cleverly contrived means of getting the message through the lines to the military and civil authorities of the Confederacy.

Early in 1861, Mrs. Greenhow was arrested and was held a prisoner in her own home for several months. According to her story she was subjected to gross insults and privations by her guards and the government of the United States. However, in spite of her close guard, she succeeded in getting hold of important information, and, in several instances, was able to send it through the lines. During the months she was held as a prisoner, her beautiful Sixteenth Street home was converted into a prison for persons suspected by the United States government. It was a strange company which assembled in the halls that had formerly received some of the most eminent persons in Washington.

On January 19, 1862, Mrs. Greenhow and her daughter were removed to the old Capitol prison. They remaimd there until May 31, 1862, when they were deported into the Confederacy. Since her services were well known, her presence was most welcome in the Confederate capitol.

In 1863, she was sent to Europe on a secret but offi-

[illegible] made it possible for her to obtain valuable [illegible] of official nature. Then, she cleverly contrived [illegible] the message through the lines to the mil- [illegible].

[illegible] in her own home for several months. According [illegible] she was subjected to gross insults and [illegible] guards and the government of the United [illegible]. However, in spite of her close guard, she [illegible] getting hold of important information, and, in [illegible] instances, was able to send it through the lines. [illegible] months she was held as a prisoner, her beau- [illegible] Sixteenth Street home was converted into a prison [illegible] persons suspected by the United States government. [illegible] a strange company which assembled in the [illegible] in Washington.

[illegible] 19, 1862, Mrs. Greenhow and her daughter [illegible] to the old Capitol prison. They remained [illegible] May 31, 1862, when they were deported into [illegible]racy. Since her services were well known, [illegible] was most welcome in the Confederate capitol. [illegible], she was sent to Europe on a secret but offi-

cial mission. Before her departure, she spent several days in Charleston, South Carolina to confer with General Beauregard and other officials in the city. As it happened, her visit coincided with the Federals' attempt to take the city. Her correspondance with Alexander Robinson Boteler, dated June and July 1863, show that she was well informed concerning the military happenings.[7]

Late in July 1863, she sailed from Wilmington. In a letter to Mr. Boteler she described the successful arrival of her boat at Bermuda, after being chased by an Yankee gunboat. While in Europe, Mrs. Greenhow conferred with prominent officials, seeking aid for the Confederacy. It was on this visit in England that her vitriolic denunciation of the North's position and actions was published.[8]

As she was returning from Europe, Mrs. Greenhow was drowned when the blockade runner the Condar went aground at New Inlet on the North Carolina coast. Fearing capture, if she remained on the boat, she obtained permission to go ashore in a small open boat. She was drowned when the boat capsized.[9] The funeral of this devoted Confederate woman

---

[7]Letters in Duke University Library.

[8]Rose O'Neal Greenhow, My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington. This book was published by Bentley in 1863.

[9]James Sprunt, Cape Fear Chronicles, 458-459. It is supposed the gold carried in her clothes was the cause of her drowning. Her articles were sold at public auction.

[illegible]. Before her departure, she spent several [illegible] and other officials in the city. As it [illegible], her visit coincided with the Federal attempt [illegible] city. Her correspondance with Alexander Rob- [illegible], dated June and July 1865, show that she [illegible] concerning the military happenings.[7]

[illegible] she sailed from Wilmington. In a letter to [illegible] Hoteler she described the successful arrival [illegible] at Bermuda, after being chased by an Yankee [illegible]. While in Europe, Mrs. Greenhow conferred with [illegible] officials, [illegible]. It [illegible] visit in England that her vitriolic denunciation [illegible]'s position and actions was published.[8]

[illegible] returning from Europe, Mrs. Greenhow was [illegible] the blockade runner the Condor went aground [illegible] on the North Carolina coast. Fearing capture, [illegible] remained on the boat, she obtained permission to go [illegible] open boat. She was drowned when the boat [illegible].[9] The funeral of this devoted Confederate woman

---

[illegible]

[illegible] Greenhow, My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington. This book was published by [illegible] in [illegible].

[illegible] Sorunt, Cape Fear Chronicles, 458-459. It is sup- [illegible]

was conducted by the Soldier's Aid Society of Wilmington.

Her book and letters reveal her as a brilliant and competent woman, who was as well informed on many of the aspects of the war as any of the leading statesmen of the time.

There were other women of the Confederacy who deserve their names on the honor roll of Southern women, who dared risk their lives to serve their cause. Among them were Miss Antonia Ford of Fairfax Courthouse, Virginia; Elizabeth Carraway Harland, Mrs. A. M. Meekins and Emmeline Piggott, all of New Bern, North Carolina, Laura Radcliffe of Fauquier County, Virginia, and many others whose names have been neglected and forgotten. In honoring them, Southerners have often said "They served us well".

Chapter 7

Gayety and Romance in the Confederacy

In war time, the rare moments of gayety and romance are eagerly clutched at in a reckless manner. Thus it was in parts of the South. Surrounded by fighting, nursing, sewing, spinning, starvation, diesase, and the universal confusion of the war, many Southerners faced such realities along with rollicking laughter, thoughtless conversation and breathless romance.

Early in the summer of 1861, delightful old hospitable Richmond, with age-old traditions of simplicity and genuine charm, became the hostess of the Confederacy. From every part of the South came all

Chapter 7

[illegible]y and Romance in the Counterculture

types of troops, commanded by distinguished officers, who quickly changed the quiet provincial city into a bristling army encampment. Along with the soldiers came the hundreds of Confederate government officials, with their families; the refugees from northern and eastern Virginia; the Southerners from northern cities; and the adventurers from here and there. They crowded, to bursting capacity, the hotels, boarding houses and private homes. And, instead of the warm, gentle casualness which had marked the life at Richmond, one found a brittle, cosmopolitan air which stimulated the senses. A new zest and a rather delicious flavor were added to the days, and soon the "license tolerated in fashionable society elsewhere grew to be tolerated in the city, and 'prosy' Richmond was acknowledged fast enough for the fastest".[1]

There were brilliancy, beauty, ability and fineness of character in the various companies assembled

---

[1]Sallie Brock Putnam, Richmond during the War, 81.

[illegible], commanded by distinguished officers, [illegible] changed the quiet provincial city into a [illegible] army encampment. Along with the soldiers [illegible] hundreds of Confederate government officials, [illegible] families; the refugees from northern and [illegible] Virginia; the Southerners from northern cities; [illegible] the adventurers from here and there. They [illegible], to bursting capacity, the hotels, [illegible] and private homes. And, instead of the warm, [illegible] ness which had marked the life at dictionary, [illegible] found a brittle, cosmopolitan air which [illegible] the senses. A new zest and a rather [illegible] flavor were added to the days, and soon [illegible] tolerated in fashionable society else- [illegible] to be tolerated in the city, and 'proxy' [illegible] was acknowledged fast enough for the fast- [illegible].[1]

[illegible] were brilliancy, beauty, ability and fine- [illegible] character in the various companies assembled

---

[1] [illegible] Putnam, Richmond during the War, 31.

at the various functions of the day. A favorite meeting place of the most eminent persons of the South was the Champ de Mars, where the spectacular military reviews and parades were held. A warm pride in the Confederacy was felt in the hearts of all, as President Davis rode down the field. His appearance, invariably occasioned admiring comments, for, not even his enemies could say ought of him on horseback- a superb figure mounted on his beautiful gray, Arabian horse, which had been purchased in Egypt. He was often accompanied by his handsome young secretary, Burton Harrison, a loyal son of Yale and "Ole Miss". Nevertheless, it is easy to believe that Mr. Harrison would excuse himself from official duties as soon as possible in order to join Miss Constance Cary in the reviewing stand. Miss Cary, the beautiful, clever refugee from the Fairfax estate, "Vanclause", was one of the popular belles of Richmond and was the object of his most ardent devotions. In her admiring circle of friends, one would notice Honorable and Mrs. L. Q. C. Lamar, Preston Hampton, Dr. John Davy and his fiancee Mary Preston, Porcher Miles, General Edward Johnston, and the gallant young Prussian, Major Von Borcke.

[illegible] functions of the day. A favorite most-
[illegible] the most eminent persons of the South
[illegible] Camp de Mars, where the spectacular military
[illegible] parades were held. A warm pride in the
[illegible] was felt in the hearts of all, as Presi-
[illegible] rode down the field. His appearance, in-
[illegible] sioned admiring comments, for, not even
[illegible] could say ought of him on horseback- a
[illegible] mounted on his beautiful grey, Arabian
[illegible], which had been purchased in Egypt. He was
[illegible] ed by his handsome young secretary, Ar-
[illegible] a loyal son of Yale and "Ole Miss".
[illegible]
[illegible] himself from official duties as soon as
[illegible] in order to join Miss Constance Cary in the
[illegible] stand. Miss Cary, the beautiful, clever
[illegible] the Fairfax estate, "Vancleuse", was one
[illegible] belles of Richmond and was the object
[illegible] most ardent devotions. In her admiring circle
[illegible], one would notice Honorable and Mrs. L. Q.
[illegible], Preston Hampton, Dr. John Davy and his fian-
[illegible]. Porcher Miles, General Edward Jonn-
[illegible], and the fallant young Prussian, Major Von Borcke.

On all occasions, the belle of the day was the famous beauty, Hetty Cary, the other of the "Cary Invincibles". A cousin of Constance, and a refugee from Baltimore, she charmed Richmond with her spirit and grace. It would seem that all, whether of her intimate admiring cirlce or one of those who worshipped from afar, paid tribute to her loveliness and charm.

Frequently seen in distinguished groups were Mrs. George Wythe Randolph, the oriental looking wife of General Randolph, and Mrs. Stanard. They were considered by many to be the "handsomest matrons in Richmond", and were usually surrounded by notable persons. Upon one occasion, while jesting with General Lee, he remarked to them that he wanted only a "Virginian farm, with no end of cream and butter and fried chicken- not one or two, but unlimited fried chicken".

Then, too, there were many of the Southern ladies who had been friends in Washington before the war. In this group were Mrs. Davis, Mrs. James Chestnut, Mrs. Clement C. Clay, Mrs. Joseph Johnston, Mrs. Louis Wigfall and Mrs. Roger Pryor. Unfortunately, as before,

[illegible] occasions, the belle of the day was the [illegible] beauty, Hetty Cary, the other of the "Cary [illegible]". A cousin of Constance, and a refugee [illegible], she charmed Richmond with her spirit [illegible]. It would seem that all, whether of her [illegible] spiring circle or one of those who wor- [illegible]

Frequently seen in distinguished groups were Mrs. [illegible] Randolph, the oriental [illegible] Randolph, and Mrs. Stanard. They [illegible] and were usually surrounded by notable [illegible], he remarked to them that he wanted only [illegible] farm, with no end of cream and butter [illegible] chicken".

[illegible], too, there were many of the Southern ladies [illegible] been friends in Washington before the war. [illegible] C. Clay, Mrs. Joseph Johnston, Mrs. Louis [illegible] and Mrs. Roger Pryor. Unfortunately, as before,

mentioned, some of the friendships of long-standing were broken up by political and military enmities.

As in Washington, the South Carolinians enjoyed the social life of the capitol of the Confederacy. Included in a large group of distinguished persons were General Wade Hampton and his two excellent soldier sons. Preston, the elder, was a handsome youth "with the figure of a Hercules and the face of Apollo", and a slowness of manner, called laziness by his friends, which entirely disappeared on the battlefield. Ever in demand were the much sought-after and courted Preston sisters, daughters of the eloquent John Preston. The clever Mrs. Chestnut acted as chaperon to these young ladies and her Diary from Dixie contains many delightful experiences of Sally and Mary. Prominent in all groups was the Honorable Porcher Miles who was often accompanied by petite Betty Bierne, one of the three popular Bierne sisters and who told all Richmond "by her glances and blushes that the Honorable Mr. Wiles was her choice of the entire company".

In spite of war times, especially during the early years, there were attempts made to continue tradition-

[illegible]

[illegible] life of the capitol of the Confederacy. [illegible] Wade Hampton and his two excellent [illegible]. Preston, the elder, was a handsome [illegible] the figure of a Hercules and the face [illegible], and a slowness of manner, called laziness [illegible] friends, which entirely disappeared on the [illegible]. Ever in demand were the much sought-[illegible] and courted Preston sisters, daughters of the [illegible] John Preston. The clever Mrs. Chestnut [illegible] as chaperon to these young ladies and her [illegible] Sally and Mary. Prominent in all groups [illegible] Honorable Porcher Miles who was often ac-[illegible] petite Betty Bierne, one of the three [illegible] sisters and who told all Richmond [illegible] glances and blushes that the Honorable Mr. [illegible] her choice of the entire company".

[illegible] of war times, especially during the early [illegible] were attempts made to continue tradition-

al and seasonal entertaining and hospitality. At Christmas time "dull care was thrown to the winds and joy reigned around the festive boards". Although saddened by the absence of loved ones and the impoverished conditions in the homes and the plantations, the women tried to keep alive the spirit of the happy ante-bellum Christmas celebration. In the South, the custom of New Year's entertaining, during the days of slavery was not a popular one- instead, it was a holiday for the servants. However, there was one outstanding exception. From time immemorial it had been the custom for the Governors of the states to entertain with an "open house". This custom was carried on in Virginia during the war. On New Year's day of 1862, Governor Letcher received as usual:

> "His guests", wrote one of the callers, "were welcomed with the broad good humored hospitality and dignified courtesy which ever distinguished the gallant son of Virginia. Minus champagne, through the rigid effects of the blockade, the giant punch bowl was filled with the steaming beverage, the smell of roasted apples betrayed the characteristic toddy, and through the crystal cut glass gleamed the golden hue of the egg-nog to regale the guests of the Governor".[2]

---

[2] Ibid., 90.

[illegible] entertaining and hospitality. [illegible] 'dull care was thrown to the wings [illegible] the absence of loved ones and the im- [illegible] conditions in the homes and the plants- [illegible] the women tried to keep alive the spirit of [illegible] ante-bellum Christmas celebration. In the [illegible] the custom of New Year's entertaining, dur- [illegible] of slavery was not a popular one- in- [illegible] a holiday for the servants. However, [illegible] carried on in Virginia during the war. On [illegible] of 1863, Governor Letcher received [illegible]:

> "His guests", wrote one of the cal- lers, "were welcomed with the broad good [illegible]ored hospitality and [illegible] cour- [illegible] which ever distinguished the gal- [illegible] son of Virginia. Minus champagne, through the rigid effects of the block- [illegible], the giant punch bowl was filled with the steaming beverage, the smell of roasted apples betrayed the charac- [illegible] toddy, and through [illegible] cut glass gleamed the golden hue of the egg-nog to regale [illegible] the Governor".[2]

Both formal and informal dinners, ever the delight of pleasure loving people were given by the hosts and hostesses of Richmond. Since there was no scarcity of interesting and distinguished persons, the guest list was managed more easily than a tempting menu. But, on rare occasions the menu was one to please the most meticulous host. It is nice to imagine the smile of triumph on the face of the host who served his honor guests, General John Morgan and his Kentuckians with oyster soup, roast, mutton, ham, boned turkey, wild duck, partridge, plum pudding, burgandy, sherry, and maderia. While in Richmond, the celebrated Kentuckians were "wined and dined" until General Lawton remarked that so much gayety seemed out of place in battle scarred Richmond.

For several months, General "Sam" Hood, the "wounded knight of Texas" was a familiar figure in the society of the Confederate capitol. His constant attendance upon the young ladies aroused considerable interest and was the subject of many jests and comments. He often remarked that he would not marry a "silly, sentimental girl who would throw herself away upon a maimed creature such as he", but, in

spite of his avowal, he "put real enthusiasm in his pursuits," and refused to be cowed by the remark of General Lawton that he was better fitted for "gallantry on the battle field than playing a lute in my lady's chamber".[3]

An unusual flavor to drawing room circles was added by the presence of General Edward Johnston, familiarly known as "Alleghany" Johnston. While in the Mexican War, he had received a serious eye wound, and fortunately his sight was not injured, but he had the odd habit of incessant winking when excited or agitated. Among the young ladies he was quite a beau, and his numerous avowals of love were made, not in the accustomed murmured tones of the language of love, but were thundered at the young lady in a "decided militaristic manner, accompanied by a thousand winks". When his declarations were lightly taken, possessing wonderful rehabilitation powers, both in

---

[3]The many heart interests attributed to him during his sojourn at Richmond did not end at the altar. Sometime after the war he married a girl of New Orleans. In speaking of him several years later, after his family included an unusual liberal allowance of young children, Mrs. Harrison remarked that "he travels over the Southern country, where he had once wired orders to conquering armies, he telegraphs ahead for fresh milk at the ensueing stations".
Mrs. Burton Harrison, Recollections Grave and Gay, 173.

his "affaires de coeur" and on the field, he was soon ready for a new conquest. He was a well beloved character and a welcome guest in any circle, where he would be found sitting, because of a stiff ankle, "with his leg straight out, wrapped in red carpet leggings".

Ever a favorite custom in the South, the cozy "tea hour" and the informal "at homes" were continued during the war days. Often seen enjoying himself at these simple affairs was Judah P. Benjamin who had dropped in to chat and for a cup of tea. He possessed a rare magnetic personality, and without any effort on his part, seemed to dominate the converstation and interest of the group. Besides his magnetic charm, he was considered a veritable "delphic oracle of the innermost shrine" and was always ready to entertain his listeners with dramatic recitations, amusing stories, scraps of verse and clever comments.[4]

---

[4] Benjamin, Judah P. was born of Jewish parentage at St. Croix in the West Indies, educated at Yale; elected in 1852 to represent Louisiana in the United States Senate where he served until 1861. He served the Confederacy (with criticism) from 1861 to 1865 as Attorney-General, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State. At the close of the war, he went to England where he achieved remarkable success at the bar in the capacity of Queen's Counsel at the London bar.
Pierce Butler, Judah P. Benjamin

[illegible] for a new conquest. He was a well beloved [illegible] a welcome guest in any circle, where [illegible] his leg straight out, wrapped in red carpet [illegible].

[illegible] a favorite custom in the South, the cozy [illegible] dropped in to chat and for a cup of tea. He [illegible] a rare magnetic personality, and without a [illegible] his part, seemed to dominate the conversation [illegible] rest of the group. Besides his magnetic [illegible] considered a veritable "delphic oracle of the [illegible] surine" and was always ready to entertain [illegible] with dramatic recitations, amusing stories, [illegible].[1]

[illegible], Judah P. was born of Jewish parentage [illegible], Croix in the West Indies, educated at [illegible]; [illegible] in 1852 to represent Louisiana in the United [illegible] Senate where he served until 1861. He served [illegible] (with criticism) from 1861 to 1865 as Attorney-General, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State. [illegible] of the war, he went to England where [illegible] success at the bar in the capacity of [illegible] the London bar.

Pierce Butler, Judah P. Benjamin

The Vice-President, Alexander H. Stephens, a "spare, worn and pungent man" who was rarely seen in social circles, occasionally called at the home of the beautiful Mrs. Stanard. At her home, statesmen, soldiers, young and old "came into the circle of her magnetism" and spent happy evenings in her presence. It was "needless to add", wrote Constance Cary Harrison, "that the women of Richmond were not slow of availing themselves of her none too profuse invitations". Among her frequent callers were the dark, handsome Pierre Soulé of New Orleans, the Honorable L. Q. C. Lamar, who "lent the witchery of his presence" and the Honorable Randolph Tucker who entertained the guests with his famous wit and stories. By many hostesses, Mr. Tucker was considered as indispensable as an old smithfield ham-for the social wheels went around when he appeared.[5]

In all social groups, throughout the South, amateur theatricals were entertaining and popular features of their leisure moments. Since Richmond had

---

[5]Constance Cary Harrison, Recollections, 160.

[illegible] circles, occasionally called at the home of [illegible] young and old "came into the circle [illegible]" and spent happy evenings in her pres- [illegible] Harrison, "that the women of Richmond [illegible]". Among her frequent callers were [illegible] Mandsome Pierre Poulo of New Orleans, [illegible] L. Q. C. Lamar, who "left the witch- [illegible] famous wit [illegible] stories. By many hostesses, Mr. Tucker was [illegible] social wheels went around when he appeared.[1] [illegible] theatricals were entertaining and popular [illegible] of their leisure moments. Since Richmond had

---

[1] [illegible] Cary Harrison, [illegible], Inc.

for generations been an enthusiastic patroness of the theater, such entertainments assumed real significance there. Then, too, the burning in the first year of the war of her only theater limited the number of more professional performances. There was a number of exhibitions and heterogenous shows and performances at the Metropolitan Hall, but they failed to amuse the more discriminating patrons. Lacking professional services, they began creating their own entertainment. On many occasions, such theatricals produced, often in a manner all their own, a revised version of the classics and favorite productions of the English stage.

The grand finale of the performances of war days was a production of The Rivals, at the home of Mrs. Cora Semmes Ives, one of the leading spirits of the theatrical evenings. On that occasion, President and Mrs. Davis occupied the sofa of state which was placed in front of the assembled company of about three hundred. Along with the President, many of the most distinguished citizens of the Confederacy awaited the drawing of the rudely improvised curtain. Well up toward the front was General Hood, General Breckenridge, "the handsomest man in the Confederacy", with

other Kentuckians, Colonel and Mrs. Chestnut, Mr. and Mrs. Mallory, Prince Camille de Polignac, Colonel Garnet Wolsey of the British army, Major Von Borcke, General Fitz Lee, Preston Hampton and others. Also, there were present that evening the Lees and the Harrisons; the Ritchies and the Pegrams and the Welfords, the Masons, Warwicks, MacFarlanes, Seldans, Leighs, besides the Brandons Robinsons, Walkers, Scotts, Coxes, Cabells and prominent guests from other Southern states. Serving as a stage hand, was the romantic and gallant General J. E. B. Stuart.[6] As he chatted glibly with the lovely Hetty Cary, the mis-

---

[6]Mrs. Putnam has left a vivid picture of General Stuart:

> "Through the streets poured our cavalry, under their gallant captain, the pick of Southern chivalry- the day, rollicking, yet bold, daring and venturesome "Jeb" Stuart. As we saw him then sitting easily on the saddle as though was born to it, he seemed every inch the Cavalier. His stout, yet lithe figure, his graceful bearing, his broad, well-formed chest and shoulders, on which was poised his splendid head, his bright beaming countenance lighted up with a smile as pleasant as a woman's, his dark red hair and flowing beard, with his lower limbs encased in heavy cavalry boots, made up the tout ensemble of this brave son of Maryland".

tress of properties, he forgot to place a most important ladder, which embarrassed the actors but amused the gay audience.

The cast of that noted production included names well known and honored in Southern history:[7]

Sir Anthony Absolute.....Mr. Randolph of Richmond
Captain Absolute.....Mr. Lee Tucker
Sir Lucius O'Trigger.....Robert W. Brown of N. C.
Fag.....Midshipman Cary
Lydia Languish.....Constance Cary
Julia.....Miss Herndon
Lucy.....Miss Lawson Clay
Mrs. Malaprop.....Mrs. Clement Clay
Harpist.....Mrs. Semmes Fitzgerald
Pianist.....Miss Robinson

The presentation of amateur theatricals performances were popular diversions in all the Southern cities and plantations that had any social life left after the call to arms. At times these were given as benefit

---

[7]Virginia Clay-Clopton, Belle of the Fifties, 176.

performances to raise funds, but frequently were acted solely for diversion and amusement. The guests in the homes and on the plantations, and there were always guests, were entertained by charades and pantomines- and how wonderful were the costumes resurrected and created from the trunks stored in the attic! Even more popular than the production of plays were the simple tableaux and musicales which could be quickly got together.

For many generations the city of Charleston, South Carolina had been noted for her cultural and graceful social life. She claimed for herself a place of preeminence in the Southern cities. And, when numerous of her wealthy and distinguished sons and daughters moved to Richmond she was deeply grieved. Besides, there was another cause for grief and embarrassment, for the Yankee fleet in the harbor was a stern reminder that the good ole days were past. But, not even war could entirely destroy all her sparkling moments, or change the graciousness of her hospitality. While visiting the city in November 1863, President Davis was perfectly delighted with the manner in which he was received and entertained. He, especially

enjoyed the "perfect old Carolina style of living" and the "gray-haired darkies with their noiseless tread". It was a real joy to have servants who "think of you; know your ways and your wants; who save you of all responsibilities, even in matters of your own ease and well-doing".[8]

From time immemorial, the crowning social event of the season was the brilliant ball of St. Cecelia. There was great anticipation in the hearts of the favored young ladies, when the balls (which were discontinued during the war days) were revived in 1867.[9]

After the fall of New Orleans, there was little of gayety in the delta country, and the lower Mississippi Valley.[10] Besides, the threatening presence of the enemy and the horrors of occupation, the social life was somewhat curtailed by the shortage of young beaux. Of course, the Yankees who were ubiquitously present could never answer to that name,

---

[8]Mary Boykin Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie,

[9]Elizabeth Allston Pringle, Chronicles of Chicora Wood, 328.

[10]Julia LeGrand, Journal; Marian Southwood, Beauty and Booty; Sarah Morgan Dawson, A Confederate Girl's Diary.

and the few English officers from an occasional vessel were not enough to go around.

At Mobile, in spite of the nearness of war drums, entertaining and a rather gay existence was enjoyed until the closing of her harbor August 5, 1864. Returning to Richmond from a visit at Mobile in March 1864, Colonel George Deas reported that there was "peace and plenty in Mobile", and that he had "attended sixteen weddings and twenty-seven tea parties".

The planters of the South had always extended a warm welcome to those who visited with them. During the war their doors were ever open to refugees, relatives, soldiers, officers, neighbors or friends.[11] They graciously entertained them for weeks, months, and even years. In addition to the more permanent house guests, local callers were frequent. And each guest received the best of that which the host, or in most cases during the war, hostesses, had to offer. One of the most famous of Southern hosts was Senator James Hammond, owner of the luxurious and ex-

---

[11] Elizabeth Allen Cox, Memories of a South Carolina Plantation. At "Homesley all the Manning family lived together in patriarchial fashion during the war...The women all collected under the wing of Aunt Betsey. She had the distinction of being daughter, sister, wife, mother and aunt of the Governors of South Carolina."

[illegible] English officers from an occasional visit [illegible] enough to go around.

[illegible], in spite of the heartaches of war drums, [illegible] and a rather gay existence was enjoyed [illegible]. [illegible] Does remember that there was "Dancing [illegible] Society in Mobile", and that he had "attended [illegible] weddings and twenty-seven tea parties".

[illegible] of the South had always extended a [illegible] to those who visited with them. During their short stays were ever open to relatives, [illegible] soldiers, officers, neighbors or friends. [illegible] usually entertained them for weeks, months, [illegible]. [illegible] guests, local officers were frequent. And much [illegible] the beer of that [illegible]. [illegible] during the war, hostesses, had to offer. [illegible] most famous of Southern [illegible] Hammond, owner of the Lowndes and Ex-

[illegible] At "Homeplay" all the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

tensive plantation "Red Cliff" on Beech Island, South Carolina. Senator and Mrs. Clay made frequent and prolonged visits there. It was Senator Hammond's custom in those uncertain days, whether guests were known to be arriving or not, to send his carriage daily to Augusta to meet the afternoon train, tp extend to a friend or more often to a refugee the welcome of "Red Cliff". Then, too, once a year like a great feudal lord, he gave a fete or grand dinner to all the country people and neighbors, rich and poor for miles around. Those who came "made a memorable picture", wrote Mrs. Clay, who was present for the occasion, "for the majority were stiff and prim and of the quaint, simple, religious class often found in the back districts". In spite of the graciousness of the welcome extended them by the host, they seemed ill at ease, and "consciously out of place in Senator Hammond's parlor filled as those great rooms were with evidences of a cosmopolitan culture with priceless paintings and statuary in bronze and marble groups."

The style of living as found at "Red Cliff" and "Mulberry" represented that of the very few Princes of Wealth in the South. The planters who made up the

majority of the population of the agricultural sections lived in greater simplicity and rarely possessed many of the luxuries that were attributed to the gentlemen planters of fiction. They lived comfortably, however, and were equally delighted to dispense a gracious, genuine hospitality.

As to be expected, the extravagance of the leaders of society who sought diversion and relaxation in mad fancies of the hour, especially during the critical winter of 1864 was the subject of criticism by the majority of the Southerners. Even the more thoughtful persons of the gay group agreed with Colonel Chestnut that they were intoxicated with mad gayety, and that it must stop. Then, of course, those on the outside openly disapproved of the continual whirl of pleasure seekers. In commenting on the state of society, Mrs. Pember wrote that many felt there was "a painful discrepancy between the excitement of dancing and the rumble of the ambulance that could be heard in the momentary lull of the music."[12] Another noble lady, who served the Confederacy in various

---

[12]Phoebe Yates Pember, A Southern Woman's Story.

capacities, regretted that,

> Some persons in this beleagured city seem crazy on the subject of gayety. In the midst of the wounded and dying, the low state of the commissariat, the anxiety of the whole country, the troubles of every kind, by which we are surrounded, I am mortified to say there are gay parties given in the city. There are those denominated "starvation parties" where young persons meet for innocent enjoyments and retire at a reasonable hour, but there are others where the most elegant suppers are served-cakes, jellies, meats of the finest kinds in abundance, such as might furnish a meal for a regiment of General Lee's army... When returning home from the hospital, I passed a house where there were music and dancing. I thought of the gayety of Paris during the French Revolution, the ball at Burssels the night before the battle of Waterloo, and felt shocked that our own Virginia at such a time should remind me of scenes which we want to think belonged only to the lightness of foreign society.[13]

As in nature, when the tenderness of spring follows the rigors of the winter, so gentle romance treading lightly came softly in the wake of war. And, daily the ringing of the wedding bells could be heard over the

---

[13]Judith B. McGuire, Diary of a Southern Refugee, 328.

[illegible] suggested that.

Some persons in this belsagured city seem crazy on the subject of society. In the midst of the wounded and dying, the low state of the commissariat, the anxiety of the whole country, the troubles of every [illegible] I am [illegible] to say there are [illegible] parties given in the city. There are those denominated "starvation parties" where young persons meet for innocent amusements and retire at a reasonable hour, but there are others where the most [illegible] cakes, jellies, meats of the finest kinds in abundance, such as might furnish a meal for a regiment of [illegible] ... From the hospital, I passed a house where there were music and dancing. I thought of the gayety of Paris during the French Revolution, the ball at Versailles the night before the battle of Waterloo, and felt shocked that our own Virginia at such a time should remind me of scenes which we want to think belonged only to the lightness of foreign society.[13]

[illegible] nature, when the tenderness of spring follows [illegible] of the winter, so gentle romance trending [illegible] wedding bells could be heard over the

[illegible] McGuire, Diary of a Southern Refugee, 3[illegible].

burst of the shells. Ever a favorite theme of conversation and letters, the war weddings were faithfully chronicled by the feminine writers. The following accounts are two of Virginia's favorite war romances:

As was customary, the wounded soldiers billeted in the home of Judge James Cox, were nursed by his lively young daughter. While convalescing at Clover Hill, a strong friendship grew up between the fair Kate and William H. Brawley of South Carolina. She listened attentively as he told her of his family and friends. He frequently spoke of a valued college friend who was a Colonel of Jenkins' Brigade. On one occasion, while going to Richmond on the train, Miss Cox's attention was called to a young wounded lieutenant-colonel- she could hardly believe that one so young and so slight was entitled to wear the star on his collar, proclaiming his rank. Much to her surprise, several months later, she met Colonel Logan and found that the valued friend of her wounded friend and the romantic young officer of the train trip were one and the same. There were several happy meetings before the military authorities ordered the young officer to Tennessee. But, although gone for several months, she did not forget him as she went about her duties

of teaching the village children and nursing her sick.

In the following spring, Colonel Logan returned from Tennessee to take command of a mounted infantry in the army of northern Virginia. She listened eagerly to all the stories which were brought to her of his gallantry in action. Furthermore, these stories were confirmed by his promotion to the rank of brigadier-general. Althogh busy with his military duties, he found time to dash over to Clover Hill to declare his avowals to Miss Kate, and to write her long letters. Shortly after his appointment, General Logan was given a command in the famous Hampton Legion and ordered to North Carolina. And, the twenty-four year old General was present at that memorable occasion when General Joseph Johnston surrendered to General Sherman, in the old Bennet House at Durham, North Carolina.

When the war was over, General Logan returned to Clover Hill to urge an immediate marriage. And, there, in May 1865, the radiant bride in a "simple frock of white and lilac" "married the youngest general of the Confederacy".[13]

---

[13]Kate Cox Logan, My Confederate Girlhood, 49-103.

Another romance which attracted wide attention was not to end so happily. On the eve of January 19, 1865, all the social world of Richmond flocked to St. Paul's church to witness the wedding of Hetty Cary, called by many "the most beautiful woman in the South," to Brigadier-general John Pegram "one of the most universally loved and honored sons of Richmond". The radiant beauty of the bride seemed enough to defy all sorrow, change or fear, and the groom stood handsome and erect and looked as he felt, "the triumphant prize winner of the invincible beauty of the day".

In the same church only three weeks later, to the day, General Pegram's coffin, crossed with a victor's palm, occupied the spot in the chancel where he had stood as the triumphant groom. At the side of the coffin his widow, and all sympathetic Richmond wept with her.

Such were the extreme moments of gayety, happiness and despair which make up the days of the men and women of the Confederacy. In fairness to all, in spite of the extravagance, it seems probable that the gay manners of the beaux and belles of the Confederacy served only to conceal hearts that were bleeding, and that the laughter was to cheer those who had dangerous and somber duties which had to be faced.

Chapter 8

The End of the Confederacy

When Grant moved against Richmond, simultaneously with the march of General Sherman toward Atlanta, almost all hopes for a victorious Confederacy collapsed. Then, too, the South was further threatened, not only by the Federal offense against Richmond and into the deep South, but by internal dissentions and disorders which were ravaging in their effects. There were bitter enmities between President Davis and governors of several of the Southern states, notably Governor Brown of Georgia; between the President and cabinet members; and the reverberations of the violent military squabbles were felt

Chapter 3

The End of the Confederacy

in even the remotest corners of the South. As before stated, President Davis believed himself an authority on military affairs and asserted prerogatives which he considered his position as President of the Confederacy gave him. Such a determination irritated the military authorities, and aroused regrettable animosities among those devoted to the cause. The wisdom of the removal of General Joseph Johnston, as commander of the forces defending Atlanta was openly questioned and denunciations were poured upon the head of the President and War department for their high-handed action.[1] Although his successor General Hood was greatly admired, his choice as commander of the most strategic position in the South was not a popular one. But, on July 1864, he assumed command "under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty". And, when Atlanta the "Gate City of the South" was occupied by General Sherman's troops, on September 1, 1864, the President and War department were blamed for the distressing sit-

---

[1]Louise Wigfall Wright, A Southern Girl in '61, 107; 159; 365.

remotest corners of the South. In be-
. President Davis believed himself an author-
considered his position as President of the
ve him. Such a determination irritated
authorities, and aroused regrettable
ea among those devoted to the cause. The
of the removal of General Joseph Johnston,
of the forces defending Atlanta was
questioned and denunciations were poured up-
of the President and War department for
ded action.[1] Although his successor
was greatly admired, his choice as com-
of the most strategic position in the South
t a popular one. But, on July 18th, he
d "under circumstances of no ordinary
". And, when Atlanta the "Gate City
" was occupied by General Sherman's
, September 1, 1864", the President and
tment were blamed for the disastrous sit-

---

[1] Mitchell Wright, A Southern Girl in '61, 107;

uation.[2] The fall brought despair to the stanuchest believer of a Southern victory. It was then, in the opinion of Sallie Brock Putnam, that the "Confederacy took its first signal step on its downward road to ruin". Still, in the face of imminent disaster, there were stout hearts, and Mrs. Chestnut confided to her diary that "Atlanta is indeed gone, well that agony is over. Like David when the child was dead- I will get up from my knees, will wash my face and comb my hair. No hope: we will have no fear".[3]

During the critical weeks following the fall of Atlanta, President Davis labored unceasingly to keep alive the seemingly futile hopes of victory. Amid the greatest of difficulties, he journeyed to bleeding Georgia, attempting to revive the spirit of the demoralized, deserting army and also the loyal Confederates who were, indeed, in a pitiful plight. At Macon, in a stirring speech, he painted a picture of a victorious Confederacy. However, revived

---

[2]Sallie Brock Putnam, Richmond during the War, 328.

[3]Mary Boykin Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, 326.

[illegible]. The fall brought despair to the staunch-[illegible] of a Southern victory. It was then, [illegible] of Sallie Brock Putnam, that the [illegible] took its first signal step on its down-[illegible] ruin". Still, in the face of im-[illegible] disaster, there were stout hearts, and Mrs. [illegible] child was dead- I will get up from my [illegible] will wash my face and comb my hair. No [illegible].

[illegible] the critical weeks following the fall of [illegible]. President Davis labored unceasingly to keep [illegible] the seemingly futile hopes of victory. Amid [illegible] greatest of difficulties, he journeyed to bleed-[illegible] Georgia, attempting to revive the spirit of [illegible] demoralized, deserting army and also the loyal [illegible] who were, indeed, in a pitiful plight. [illegible], in a stirring speech, he painted a pic-[illegible] a victorious Confederacy. However, revived

---

[illegible]

[illegible] Boykin Chestnut, A Diary from Dixie, 726.

hopes, if any, lasted only a brief moment. And, soon despair and destruction hovered over all Georgia, as Sherman's troops marched across the state, applying the sword and torch to all that stood in their way.

Upon the occupation of Atlanta by the Federal troops, the defeated Confederate forces, commanded by General Hood, withdrew into Tennessee to lay seige to Nashville. This move, in political and military circles, was feared, at the time, to be a costly blunder. For, "it would," wrote Mrs. Chestnut, "uncover Macon and Augusta. What is there to prevent Sherman taking General Lee in the rear?... We have but two armies and Sherman in between... He will catch General Lee by the rear, while Grant holds the head, and while Hood and Thomas are performing an Indian war-dance on the frontier".[4]

And, as is well known, her words were prophetic. On November 11, 1864, General Sherman began a march, destined to go down in history as the perfect example of the brutality of war. Leaving a guard at

---

[4] Ibid., 327.

[illegible], if any, lasted only a brief moment. And, [illegible] and destruction hovered over all Geor- [illegible] Sherman's troops marched across the state [illegible] sword and torch to all that stood in [illegible].

[illegible] the occupation of Atlanta by the Federal [illegible] Hood, withdrew into Tennessee to lay seige [illegible]. This move, in political and military [illegible], [illegible] feared, at the time, to be a costly [illegible]. For, "it would," wrote Mrs. [illegible] Macon and Augusta. What is there to prevent [illegible] General Lee in the rear?... We have [illegible] and Sherman in between... He will [illegible] General Lee by the rear, while Grant holds [illegible] war-dance on the frontier".[1]

[illegible] is well known, her words were prophetic. [illegible] November 11, 1864, General Sherman began a march, [illegible] to go down in history as the perfect ex- [illegible] of the brutality of war. Leaving a guard at

---

[1] [illegible] 347.

Atlanta, he advanced into the heart of Georgia. By the end of November, he was thundering at Augusta's very doors, and on the morning of December 21, 1864 he entered Savannah. All the accounts written and the stories told concerning the utter destitution of the inhabitants of the devestated towns and country sides were corroborated by the descriptive accounts of the women writers.[5] From her home near Decatur, Miss Gay, the author of Life in Dixie, had gone to Atlanta. She had arrived there in time to see the plundering of the city by the troops of Sherman. Finally, after submitting herself to terrifying experiences, she obtained a pass to Jonesboro. With the greatest caution and fear, on account of carrying carefully secreted supplies for the Confederacy, she went through the Federal lines. Along her route, she saw the "whole population of Atlanta dumped out upon the cold ground without a shelter". These sceness aroused an intense hatred for the Yankee invader and she considered

---

[5] Mary A.H. Gay, Life in Dixie; Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit.; Eliza Andrews, War Time Journal of a Georgia Girl.

War Time Journal of a Georgia Girl.

the world should be outraged by such inhuman action.[6]

Forewarned by the stories of atrocities and destruction, Savannah trembled while awaiting the entrance of Sherman's army. And, her fears were not unfounded, for Savannah suffered with the rest of Georgia. Sherman sent a characteristic dispatch to Washington, and to President Lincoln he wrote:

> I beg to present you as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty guns and plenty of ammunition, and also twenty thousand bales of cotton.[7]

Along with the crushing news from Georgia, the Confederacy experienced further disappointments. The military successes of the Yankee troops had helped decide the November election in favor of the Republicans. And "the hopes of peace that animated the Democrats of the North went down in darkness with the reelection of Lincoln", esplained Mrs. Putnam, "and the South was forced to further revolve the question of endurance".[8] Yet, strange as it may

---

[6]Mary A. H. Gay, op. cit., 235. She changed the name of her faithful old mule from "Yankee" to "Rebel".

[7]Sallie Brock Putnam, Richmond during the War, 339.

[8]Ibid., 335.

seem to one looking back when events stand out in clearer detail and outline, there were some hopes left in the hearts of men of the South. When, early in November, the Confederate Congress had reassembled, the President declared that no peace would be made which would not recognize the independence of the Confederacy. He even urged a very strict conscription law. However, the news of the humiliation and distress of Georgia somewhat weakened the hope and the "dismalest Christmas of her existence was observed by the Confederacy".

Early in 1865 General Sherman began his march northward through the Carolinas. Columbia, the capitol of South Carolina, suffered a similar fate as Georgia. A charge of General Sherman that "Columbia was burned by Hampton's sheer stupidity" was refuted by the women writers. In discussing the charge, Mrs. Chestnut believed it to be an afterthought of Sherman's and wrote in her Diary, on June 1, 1865, the following statement:

> The New York Herald quotes General Sherman as saying, "Columbia was burned by Hampton's sheer stupidity." But then who burned everything on the way in Sherman's march to Colum-

[illegible] looking back when events stand out in [illegible] detail and outline, there were some hopes left in [illegible] hearts of men of the South. When, [illegible] November, the Confederate Congress had re-[illegible], the President declared that no peace [illegible] made which would not recognize the inde-[illegible] of the Confederacy. He even urged a very [illegible] conscription law. However, the news of the [illegible] and distress of Georgia somewhat weakened [illegible] of her exis-[illegible].

[illegible] in 1865 General Sherman began his march [illegible]rward through the Carolinas. Columbia, the cap-[illegible] of South Carolina, suffered a similar fate as [illegible]. A charge of General Sherman [illegible] burned by Hampton's sheer stupidity" was [illegible] the women writers. In discussing the [illegible], Mrs. Chestnut believed it to be an after-[illegible] of Sherman's and wrote in her Diary, on [illegible] 1, 1865, the following statement:

> The New York Herald quotes General Sherman as saying, "Columbia was burned by Hampton's sheer stupidity. But then who burned everything on the way in Sherman's march to Colum-

> bia, and in the line of march they took after leaving Columbia? We came for three days travel over a road that had been laid bare by Sherman's torches. Nothing but smoking ruins was left in Sherman's tracks. That, I saw with my own eyes. No living thing was left, no house for man or beast. They who burned the countryside for a belt of forty miles, did they not also burn the town?

Another lady, a sister of General Logan wrote the following letter on March 2, 1865:

> On last Friday the enemy entered the city. The advance was in by five oclock, and they continued pouring in until nightfall. Then the fearful work of destruction commenced, demons with human shapes were leaping fences with torches and steeped cotton, and as quick as lightning fired houses, public buildings and private, large and small. They danced around with fearful shrieks and curses, and their forms shone out hideously in numbers on all sides in the lights of the flaming homes... terrorized we were forced to take refuge in the Lunatic Asylum.
>
> Saturday, Sunday and Monday we remained in the asylum- days of pain, anxiety and terror. The flames threatened in all directions, and the Yankees yelling and shrieking more fearfully still. On Monday, Sherman marched from the graveyard of our once beautiful Columbia, sounding the odious note of Yankee Doodle and bearing every horse,

[illegible], and in the line of march they [illegible] after leaving Columbia? We [illegible] for three days travel over [illegible] road that had been laid bare [illegible] Sherman's torches. Nothing but [illegible] ruins was left in Sherman's tracks. That, I saw with my own eyes. No living thing was left, no house for man or beast. They who [illegible] the countryside for a belt of forty miles, did they not also [illegible] the town?

[illegible] lady, a sister of General Logan wrote [illegible]

On last Friday the enemy entered the city. The advance was in by five oclock, and they continued pouring in until nightfall. Then the fearful [illegible] with human shapes were leaping fences [illegible] as quick as lightning fired houses, public buildings and private, large and small. They danced around with fearful shrieks and curses, and their forms shone out hideously in numbers on all sides in the lights of the flaming homes... terrorized we were forced to take refuge in the Lunatic Asylum.

Saturday, Sunday and Monday we remained in the asylum- days of pain, anxiety and terror. The flames threatened in all directions, and the Yank- [illegible] still. On Monday, Sherman marched from the graveyard of our once beautiful C[illegible] [illegible] Doodle and bearing every horse,

cow, mule, every carriage and wagon, with thousands of stock.[9]

A more complete description was given by Mrs. Campbell Bryce, who believed that "General Starvation" was less an enemy than Sherman.[10]

The Yankee successes continued along the coast. The city of Charleston had been surrendered by General Beauregard to Federal forces, and General Bragg had been forced out of Wilmington. Such news sickened the hearts of loyal Southerners, until they "no longer cared to read the newspapers". They believed that the end was at hand and that "neither God nor man could help".

Then, too, the army dissentions had not been improved by the appointment of General Hood to General Johnston's command. As had been predicted, the Tennessee campaign had been a miserable failure. In face of criticism General Hood had given back his

---

[9]Kate Cox Logan, op. cit., 79-80.

[10]Mrs. Campbell Bryce, Personal Experiences during the Burning of Columbia

[illegible]ow, mule, every carriage and wagon, [illegible] thousands of stock.)

[illegible] complete description was given by Mrs. [illegible], who believed that "General Starvation" [illegible].[10]

[illegible] successes continued along the coast. [illegible] of Charleston had been surrendered by Gen- [illegible] to Federal forces, and General Bragg [illegible] forced out of Wilmington. Such news sick- [illegible] hearts of loyal Southerners, until they [illegible] cared to read the newspapers". They be- [illegible] the end was at hand and that "neither [illegible] could help".

[illegible], the army dissentions had not been im- [illegible] [illegible]'s command. As had been predicted, the [illegible] campaign had been a miserable failure. In [illegible] criticism General Hood had given back his

---

[illegible] Cox Logan, op. cit., 79-[illegible].

[illegible]

command to General Johnston. The obstinate will of President Davis had been forced to make the appointment by the Confederate Congress and public clamor.

At Richmond, while defeats and disasters were being reported daily from all parts of the South, the Confederate government was trembling as reports brought the Federal troops nearer and nearer. During the winter months of 1864 and 1865, General Grant and his increasing army were marching steadily toward the Confederate capitol. At this time, Richmond was defended by General Lee and the Army of Virginia. As long as General Lee had been able to hold his position at Petersburg, there were some hopes that Richmond might be saved. But, by the last days of March 1865, General Lee knew that further resistance against a stronger army was impossible and that surrender was inevitable. Also, he knew that Richmond's defense city waw lost.

The morning of April 2, 1865 dawned brightly over the war-torn and sick Confederacy: in Richmond no sound disturbed the stillness of the Sabbath morn save the subdued murmur of the river and the cheerful peal of the church bells. The only outward sign of the fear which gripped the hearts of all

were the tenseness of the crowd collected around the War department and Post office. In silence, the group read the bulletin announcing the death of the distinguished and beloved General A. P. Hill. He had been killed in the defense of Petersburg.

A large number of apprehensive inhabitants had sought peace and strength in the morning services of the churches of the city. At Saint Paul's church, the usual devout congregation was in attendance. Among the worshippers was President Davis, sitting alone in his pew, for his family accompanied by Burton Harrison had, a few days before, left for a "visit" to Charlotte, North Carolina.[11] While the services were progressing as usual, a messenger came up the aisle to the pew of the President and placed a sealed package in his hands. According to a lady sitting close-by, a gray pallor spread over the President's face as he read the dispatch, and that he walked rather unsteadily as he hurried from the church. An uneasy commotion and whisper ran through

---

[11]Constance Cary Harrison, Recollections, 205.

[illegible] tenseness of the crowd collected around [illegible] department and Post office. In silence, the [illegible] [illegible]ished and beloved General A. P. Hill. He [illegible] killed in the defense of Petersburg.

A large number of apprehensive inhabitants had [illegible] and strength in the morning services of [illegible] of the city. At Saint Paul's church, [illegible] devout congregation was in attendance. [illegible] worshippers was President Davis, sitting [illegible] [illegible]rison had, a few days before, left for a [illegible] Charlotte, North Carolina.[11] While the [illegible] [illegible] close-by, a gray pallor spread over the [illegible] face as he read the dispatch, and that [illegible]

[illegible]

the congregation. There were some who were unable to remain sustained and followed him out of the church. To calm the disturbance, Dr. Minnegrode, the rector, accustomed to such scenes of war, came down to the altar rail and tenderly urged his people to remain for the rest of the service. However, before he pronounced the benediction, he announced that General Ewell had summoned the local forces to meet at three o'clock to prepare for the defense of the city.[12]

By the time of dismissal the news had circulated that the dispatch was from General Lee to the effect that the evacuation of Richmond was inevitable unless his line could be re-established before eight o'clock that evening. The answer of the President and War department to the dispatch was understood by the people of Richmond when, before an hour, they realized the Government was moving and the evacuation of the city was already begun.

Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, a formal announcement was made that because of the

---

[12] Ibid., 205-207.

[illegible]gation. There were some who were unable [illegible] sustained and followed him out of the [illegible]. [illegible] calm the disturbance, Dr. Minnegrode, the [illegible] accustomed to such scenes of war, [illegible] [illegible]tar rail and tenderly urged his people [illegible] for the rest of the service. However, [illegible] [illegible] Ewell had summoned the local forces [illegible] at three o'clock to prepare for the defense [illegible].

[illegible] dispatch was from General Lee to the effect that the evacuation of Richmond was inevitable [illegible] his line could be re-established before eight [illegible] that evening. The answer of the President [illegible] department to the dispatch was understood [illegible] people of Richmond when, before an hour, [illegible] realized the Government was moving and the evac[illegible] of the city was already begun.

[illegible] two and three o'clock in the afternoon, [illegible] announcement was made that because of the

imminent attack the Confederate government felt it necessary to vacate Richmond that evening. An eye witness to the scene which followed the announcement wrote that "wagons were driven furiously through the streets to the different departments where they received as freight the archives of the government and carried them to the Danville court to be conveyed away from Richmond".[13]

In the panic which followed, thousands of terror stricken citizens determined to evacuate the city with the government. They filled the streets, ruching frantically up and down the thoroughfares, hurrying to the cross avenues, seeking transportation, intermingling with porters carrying huge loads, and wagons bearing goods of every sort. There were crowds of all ages and classes seeking to buy vehicles at "any price in any currency" to carry them beyond the lines.

In order to meet the crisis, the banks were opened so that depositors could get their specie deposits, and the directors were busily engaged in

---

[13] Judith B. McGuire, Diary of a Southern Refugee, 344. Sallie Brock Putnam, op. cit., 363.

took the Confederate government felt it
vacate Richmond that evening. An eye
scene which followed the announcement
freight the archives of the Government
from Richmond".[1]

the panic which followed, thousands of terror
citizens determined to evacuate the city
.
frantically up and down the thoroughfares,
with porters carrying huge loads.
packing goods of every sort. There were
at all ages and classes seeking to buy ve-
"any price in any currency" to carry them
.

In order to meet the crisis, the banks were
that depositors could get their people
, and the directors were busily engaged in

---

[1] [illegible]

getting off their bullion. According to the reports, millions of dollars of Confederate and state paper money were buried in the Capitol square.[14]

A beautiful April evening came on, but it brought no sleep or peace to doomed Richmond. An unparalleled confusion reigned and terror gripped the hearts of all. In order to protect the city from the mob, the city council ordered the destruction of all liquors. The gutters became streams of whiskey and "its fumes filled the impregnated air". After nightfall, the mob "surged in one black mass from store to store, breaking them open, robbing them, and in some instances applying the torch to them."

And, to add to the horror, the guards of the State Penitentiary, alarmed by the seething mob inside and out, fled from their posts. A large number of the "lawless and desperate villains incarcerated there, for crimes of every grade and hue, after setting fire to the workshops made good their opportunity to escape... and donning garments stolen wherever they could get them... roamed over the city like fierce, ferocious beasts".[15]

---

[14]Sallie B. Putnam, op. cit., 363.

[15]Ibid., 364.

[illegible] their bullion. According to the reports, [illegible] of dollars of Confederate and state paper [illegible] were buried in the Capitol square.[14]

A beautiful April evening came on, but [illegible] or peace to doomed Richmond. An unparalleled [illegible] reigned and terror gripped the hearts of all. In order to protect the city from the mob, the [illegible] ordered the destruction of all liquors. The gutters became streams of whiskey and "its [illegible] filled the impregnated air". After nightfall, [illegible] "surged in one black mass from store to [illegible], breaking them open, robbing them, and in some [illegible]."

[illegible], to add to the horror, the guards of the [illegible] Penitentiary, alarmed by the seething mob in- [illegible] out, fled from their posts. A large [illegible] of the "lawless and desperate villains incar- [illegible] there, for crimes of every grade and hue, [illegible] fire to the workshops made good [illegible] [illegible] stolen [illegible] fierce, ferocious beasts".[15]

---

[14] [illegible] B. Putnam, op. cit., 363.

[15] [illegible]

A second telegram from General Lee, announcing that the enemy was to take possession of the city at three o'clock Monday morning, hastened the evacuation. Disregarding the opinion of those who wanted the Confederate government to surrender in a dignified manner and to demand protection for the citizens, President Davis, his staff, cabinet and government officials and "any other male who could help the dispossessed government left on the midnight train for Danville. At the same hour, many others left on the overcrowded river packet going in the direction of Lynchburg.

From some uncertain authority, an order had been issued to fire the four principal tobacco warehouses of the city. Unfortunately, they were located in such a position as to jeopardize the entire commercial era. of the city. The crowd, disregarding the warnings and remonstrations of Mayor Mayo, applied torches, as the helpless citizens witnessed the destruction of their property. On similar authority, the rams on the James River were blown up. The ladies' gunboat, the Richmond, along with the

Virginia and the Beaufort were blown into bits.[16]

About two o'clock, the city was shaken, as if by an earthquake, by the explosions in the magazines around the city- plate glass windows over two miles away were shattered. And, when, the "sun rose over Richmond," recalled Sallie Brock Putnam, "such a spectacle was presented as can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it". To speed destruction, some individuals had cut the hose in the city... and the entire lower part was burning, all the railroads, bridges, and Mayo bridge were in flames.

The commissary depot was the scene of uncontrolled disorders. Within a few, hours, hundreds of government wagons were loaded with bacon, flour, and whiskey and drived off in hot haste to join the retreating army. At sunrise, the doors were opened to the innumerable mod which waited outside. They surged in, sweeping before them all that was left of the Confederate commissariat. In a short time, "women both white and colored were walking in multitudes from the commissary offices and burning stores,

---

[16]Ibid., 364-66.

[illegible] the *Beaufort* were blown into bits.[1]

[illegible] o'clock, the city was shaken, as if by [illegible], by the explosions in the magazines [illegible] city- plate glass windows over two miles [illegible] shattered. And, when, the "sun rose over [illegible]

[illegible] who witnessed it". To speed destruction, some [illegible] part was burning, all the railroads, [illegible] Mayo bridge were in flames.

[illegible] commissary depot was the scene of uncontrolled [illegible]

[illegible] rived off in hot haste to join the retr[illegible] [illegible]. At sunrise, the doors were opened to the [illegible] mod which waited outside. They surged in [illegible] before them all that was left of the [illegible] commissariat. In a short time, "women [illegible]

---

[1] [illegible]

with bags of flour, meal, coffee, sugar, rolls of cotton cloth, etc.; and colored men were rolling wheelbarrows filled in the same way."[17]

At a little before eight in the morning, while the mob held possession of Main and Broad Streets, shouts and screams were heard crying "the Yankees have come." Immediately following the cry, Major A. H. Stevens of the Fourth Massachusetts Cavalry and Major E. E. Graves of his staff at the head of the Fourth cavalry and the victorious army, rode into the city. As they drew near to the city, the iron gates of the "time honored and beautiful Capitol square, the walks of which no hoof had been allowed to tread" were thrown open. The Cavalry rushed in to plant the Stars and Stripes, "the sign of subjugation" on the Capitol. The strains of the Star Spangled Banner[18] were sounded as the flag was hoisted. And, the song, which had formerly awakened patriotic emotions in the hearts of Southerners, as well as Northerners, at that moment was a requiem for buried hopes.

---

[17]Judith B. McGuire, Op. cit., 345-350.

[18]Sallie Brock Putnam, op. cit., 366-369; Mrs. Roger Pryor, Reminiscences, 354-357.

[illegible] of flour, meal, coffee, sugar, rolls of [illegible] etc.; and colored men were rolling [illegible] filled in the same way."[17]

[illegible] possession of Main and Broad Streets, shouts [illegible] were heard crying "the Yankees have come." [illegible] following the cry, Major A. H. Stevens [illegible] Massachusetts Cavalry and Major [illegible] [illegible] and the victorious army, rode into the city. [illegible] which no hoof had been [illegible] and Stripes, "the sign of subjugation" on [illegible] Capitol. The strains of the Star Spangled Banner[18] [illegible] as the flag was hoisted. And, the [illegible] had formerly awakened patriotic emotions [illegible] of Southerners, as well as [illegible] was a requiem for [illegible].

[illegible]

On arrival, the Federal troops set to work to arrest the progress of the fire. They worked quickly in order to prevent the flames from reaching the northwestern portion of the city. In behalf of their efforts, one of the ladies wrote that "grateful thanks are due to General Weitzel and other officers for their energetic measures to save the city from destruction".[19]

Soon after his arrival, General Weitzel established his headquarters in the Main Hall of the State Capitol, previously occupied by the House of Delegates. In order to check the destruction and restore confidence to the people, he issued a mandate prohibiting insults and protecting property and individual rights. Thus, contrary to popular stories, the Yankee victors behaved humanely, and officers, especially General Ord did all they could to lessen the horrors of occupation at Richmond.

Following the army into the Capitol of the Confederacy, came the President of the United States. On April 6, 1865, President Lincoln, accompanied by

---

[19]Sallie Brock Putnam, op. cit., 367.

the capital, the Federal troops set to work to
check the progress of the fire. They worked quickly
to prevent the flames from reaching the
portion of the city. In behalf of
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Stanton, a son, and others visited Richmond. He was escorted from the steamer by Admiral Porter, a company of marines and citizens who had already declared Union sentiments. According to the accounts of the women, "his reception was anything but complimentary", Mrs. McGuire recalled that "our people were in nothing rude nor disrespectful; they only kept themselves away from a scene so painful... amd hundreds of negrose thronged about his carriage as he drove through the streets, escorted by a negro cavalry." Although there was a large crowd, the "greeting was so feeble from the motley crew of vulgar men and women that the Federal officers were ashamed of it and made their escape as soon as possible."[20]

The South wept as Lincoln entered the "White House of the Confederacy". With despair and bitterness a lady wrote: "Our President's house! Ah it is a bitter pill! I would that dear old house had shared in the general conflagration." And, in a little while, the President of the United States walked quietly away from the "White House" to board his

---

[20]Judith B. McGuire, op. cit., 350-360.

steamer which was to carry him back to Washington and assassination.[21]

During the first days of Federal occupation, the inhabitants of Richmond were cut off from all news of General Lee and his returning army. Then, on April 9, the quietness of the Sabbath evening was broken by a heavy cannonading. At daybreak another was heard and at noon a third- a hundred guns, was it a warning of the surrender? Dire fear and forebodings gripped the hearts of those waiting for news of Lee's army.

Meanwhile, General Lee, following the order of evacuation of Richmond, had begun a retreat from Petersburg. An interesting touch of color has been added, to that oft-told story, by Kate Cox Logan. She recalled that the retreating army halted for a rest at a spot known as the Summit, on the road leading through Chesterfield, Amelia, Powhatan, Cumberland and Buckingham counties to Appotomattox. The Summit was near hospitable Clover Hill, the plantation home of Judge James Cox. At this time, the house was crowded with refugees from Petersburg and Richmond and great preparations

---

[21]While attending the theater, Lincoln was fatally shot by an actor, John Wilkes Booth. He died on April 14, 1865. In commenting Mrs. Chestnut wrote, "The death of Lincoln I call a warning to tyrants. He will not be the last president put to death, though he is the first." Diary, 364.

were necessary to care for the needs of the sorely stricken guests. But, Judge Cox was not too busily engaged to extend an invitation to dinner to Generals Lee and Longstreet. The invitation was readily accepted and in short time the generals and their staff rode down the lane.

That dinner was a memorable occasion for those who were enjoying the hospitality of Clover Hill. As the "greatly admired and beloved General Lee entered", wrote the daughter of the hours, "everything and everybody was under the spell of his dignity". The place of honor, by General Lee was given to the yougg daughter who noticing the sadness of his smile, wishing to cheer him, said "General Lee, we shall still gain our cause, you will join General Johnston and together you will be victorious". He tried to smile his appreciation of her earnest expression of confidence, but his mind was with his ragged army, a mile and a half away, resting by the road side as he answered, "Whatever happens, know this, that no men ever fought better than those who have stood by me."

When the dinner was over, General Lee and his staff "went down the lane, his gray cape lined with red, thrown back from his shoulders, riding slowly away on his beloved

[illegible]

[illegible] an invitation to dinner to Generals Lee and [illegible]. The invitation was readily accepted and [illegible] time the generals and their staff rode down [illegible].

[illegible] was a memorable occasion for those who [illegible] the hospitality of Clover Hill. As the "[illegible] and beloved General Lee entered", [illegible] "[illegible] under the spell of his dignity". The place [illegible] "General Lee, we shall still gain our cause, [illegible] join General Johnston and together you will [illegible]orious". He tried to smile his appreciation [illegible] earnest expression of confidence, but his mind [illegible] his ragged army, a mile and a half away, [illegible] the road side as he answered, "Whatever [illegible], [illegible] this, that no men ever fought better than [illegible] have stood by me."

[illegible] the dinner was over, General Lee and his staff [illegible] down the lane, his gray cape lined with red, thrown [illegible] his shoulders, riding slowly away on his beloved

Traveller, riding on to Appotomattox and surrender.[22]

The retreating Confederate army was overtaken at Appotomattox. It was agreed that the commanding Generals Lee and Grant were to meet in the home of Mr. Wilmer McLean, to arrange terms of capitulation. Attending General Lee was Colonel Marshall, one of his aides, while General Grant was accompanied by several members of his staff and the number increased gradually as several Federal officers entered during the parley. Maintaining his dignity, and composure, throughout the meeting, General Lee consented to the conditions, and agreement of surrender. He signed the document at half-past three in the afternoon of April 1865.

While this interview between the commanding generals was taking place, an informal conference of the officers of the two armies was held on the street of Appotomattox. Prominent among the Federal officers were Generals Ord, Sheridan, Crook, Gibbon, Forsythe, Griffin, Merritt, Ayers, Bartlett, Chamberlain and Mitchie. The

---

[22]Kate Cox Logan, op. cit., 103-110.

Confederate army was represented by Generals Longstreet, Heath, Gordon, Wilcox, and others. For an hour, mutual introductions, healths and cordial greetings were made as they nervously awaited the announcement of the results of the meeting between their commanding officers.[23]

The well known story of the surrander will not be retold as we are accustomed to hear it, but as was related by David, a camp valet of the Rives family. A loyal Confederate, the darky was impressed by the magnanimous conduct of General Grant. Such magnanimity indicated a nobility of mind and heart. In the words of David, the surrender was described:

> Ah was dah at de surrender and I done seen all dem carryins on and goins on. Right dah at Ammopotox, wid we standin' not ten feet away. I seen a sight what bring tears to dese eyes. I seen our Gen'l Lee, sad, but proud like, reach down and take his sword outen de scabbard, and gin to make a motion like what he'd hand it over to Gen'l Grant.
>
> But didn't I done tole you how Gen'l Grant was one kind gemmen effen if he wah a Yankee: "No, no, Gen'l Lee," he repostulated, myrating a little with his hands, like he'd shove de sword back where it rightly belonged to be, "No, no, Gen'l Lee you keep dat ar sword, cause you sarves to keep it! foh you mought ha' lost Gen'l, but you fit well, Gen'l ain't nobody ever fit no better.[24]

---

[23]Sallie Brock Putnam, op. cit., 377.

[24]Kate Cox Logan, op. cit., 110-111.

[illegible] was represented by Generals Longstreet, [illegible], [illegible], and others. For an hour, mutual [illegible], healths and cordial greetings were made [illegible]

[illegible] Confederate, the darky was impressed by [illegible] conduct of General Grant. [illegible] [illegible] the surrender was described:

> [illegible] surrender and I done seen all dem carryins on and goins on. Right dah at Ammopotox, mid we stanin' not ten feet away. I seen a sight what bring tears to dese eyes. I seen our Gen'l Lee, sad, but proud like, reach down and take his sword outen de scabbard, and min to [illegible] a motion like what he'd hand it ever to Gen'l Grant.
>
> [illegible] he repostulated, [illegible] a little with his hands, like he'd shove de sword back where it rightly belonged to be, "No, no, Gen'l Lee you keep dat ar sword, cause you sarves to keep it! Yoh you [illegible], but you fit well, [illegible] o better.

[illegible]

[illegible]

A few days later, General Lee, unattended save by five members of his staff, rode into Richmond "without notice and without parade". He had hoped to reach his home unobserved, but his approach was rumored and a crowd gathered along his path. They received him, "not boisterously but respectfully" and quietly followed him to his home. While dismounting, some of the crowd pressed around, but he did not linger. He acknowledged their greeting with a courtly bow and retired into the house where his refugee family were waiting to receive him.

Meanwhile, the army of General Johnston in North Carolina had not surrendered to General Sherman. Advancing northward from Columbia, Sherman was approaching Raleigh, the capitol of the state of North Carolina. The events of the days prior to the final surrender of the Confederate army near Durham, N. C. were best told by Cornelia Spencer, daughter of Professor Phillips of the University of North Carolina. In her book The Last Ninety Days of the War she outlined the happenings from General Johnston's dispatch to Governor Vance, announcing the intentions to uncover Raleigh, until his surrender at Durham which ended the War between the States. On April 10, 1865 the notice was given to the Governor and citizens of Raleigh. With this announcement, the inhabitants of the city, anti-

cipating Sherman's arrival from Goldsboro, hurriedly made preparations to protect some of their properties, in case they received the same treatment as Columbia. To insure greater protection, much of the state property was moved to points along the central railroads. Blankets, clothing, leather, shoes, cloth, food, medicine and the public records of the Treasury were carried to Graham, Greensboro and Salisbury.

Following Johnston's notice, Governor Vance sent a committee composed of ex-Governors Swain and Graham, attended by Surgeon General Warren, Colonel Burr and Major Deveraux to discuss terms of capitulation. Before reaching Sherman's encampment, the committee received news of Lee's surrender at Appotomattox. Upon arrival at the Federal encampment, the committee were gratified by the coutesies extended them by Sherman and his officers. Finding it necessary to spend the night, Governor Graham shared the tent of General Sherman and the other members those of the Federal aides. The committee concurred with Sherman's proposal for the occupation of Raleigh.

Meanwhile, upon hearing rumors that the committee had fallen into the hands of the feared Kilpatrick,

Governor Vance hurriedly left Raleigh for Hillsboro. On the heels of his departure, the Federals entered the city on the morning of April 13, 1865. As they advanced down the main thoroughfare, a rash Confederate youth, refusing to join his retreating comrades, foolishly fired upon the advance guard of Kilpatrick's cavalry. An immediate execution followed.

Somewhat disconcerted by the discoveryy that Governor Vance had left the city, General Sherman ordered his immediate return. Furthermore, to insure a quick and safe return, an escort and horse were dispatched to convey him through the lines. But, during the day Vance had received a request from President Davis to meet with him at Greensboro. After considering the situation, the Governor decided to ignore the order of General Sherman and proceeded to Greensboro to confer with President Davis. He was bitterly disappointed to hear, upon his arrival, that the Presidential party had departed the evening before. And, as a penalty for his disobedience, he was not permitted to participate further in the affairs of the state during the Federal occupation.

In writing of the Federal treatment of Raleigh,

[illegible] hurriedly left Raleigh for Hillsboro. [illegible] the morning of April 13, 1865. As [illegible] down the main thoroughfare, a rash [illegible] youth, refusing to join his retreating [illegible] Foolishly fired upon the advance guard of [illegible]

[illegible] disconcerted by the discovery, that Gov- [illegible]

[illegible] the day Vance had received a request from President Davis to meet with him at Greensboro. After considering the situation, the Governor decided [illegible] the order of General Sherman and proceeded [illegible] to confer with President Davis. He [illegible] bitterly disappointed to hear, upon his arrival, [illegible] Presidential party had departed the evening [illegible]. And, as a penalty for his disobedience, he [illegible] permitted to participate further in the af- [illegible] state during the Federal occupation.

[illegible] of the Federal treatment of Raleigh,

Miss Spencer recalled that the terms of capitulation were enforced in the corporate limits of the city and that an attempt was made to prevent plundering and destruction of private property. However, in the suburbs, and surrounding country, marauding and unrestrained license were practised by the troops.

There were other North Carolina towns that were less fortunate in the hands of the victorious Yankee armies. The fate of Salisbury is a classic example of war violence and destruction. Since it was considered the store house of North Carolina, General Stoneman wantonly destroyed all the supplies, valued at a million dollars in specie. The Confederates had stored there a hundred thousand dollars supply of medicine and other needed articles. All were destroyed by the flames which burned the arsenal, steam distillery, depot, factories, railroad buildings and all public property.

With the distressing news of the surrender of Lee, occupation of Raleigh and the destruction of the supply towns, General Johnston knew that further resistance was futile. On April 14, 1865, he sent a

letter to General Sherman, requesting a suspension of hostilities. This was followed by more communication which resulted in the interviews near Durham station, which concluded the war.[25]

In the meantime, the nation had been sorely distressed because of the assassination of President Lincoln by John Wilkes Booth, on April 14, 1865, at the Ford Theater in Washington. His successor, Andrew Johnson, was to prove himself unable to curb the radical leaders who were to act on the assumption that the South was to be treated as conquered territory. And so, when the terms agreed on by General Sherman and Johnston were presented to the President and the War department, they were repudiated. They were considered too lenient and were interpreted to mean that certain privileges and prerogatives had intended to be granted to the Southern states, consequently they were not in accordance with the plans of the political leaders at Washington.

With the repudiation, President Johnson ordered General Grant , a warm personal friend of Johnson, to proceed to North Carolina, to assume command of Sherman's army add to demand unconditional surrender.

---

[25] Cornelia Phillips Spencer, Last Ninety Days of War.

[illegible] General Sherman, requesting a suspension [illegible] hostilities. This was followed by more communi- [illegible] resulted in the interviews near Durham [illegible], which concluded the war.[25]

[illegible] meantime, the nation had been sorely [illegible] because of the assassination of President [illegible] John Wilkes Booth, on April 14, 1865, [illegible] Theater in Washington. His successor, [illegible], was to prove himself unable to curb [illegible] political leaders who were to act on the assump- [illegible] the South was to be treated as conquered [illegible] and Johnston were presented to the [illegible] and the War department, they were repudiated. [illegible] considered too lenient and were interpret- [illegible] to be granted to the Southern states, [illegible] they were not in accordance with the [illegible]

[illegible] Grant, a warm personal friend of Johnson, [illegible] to North Carolina, to assume command of [illegible]'s army and to demand unconditional surrender.

[illegible] Phillips Spencer, [illegible] Ninety Days of War.

Thus ordered, by the President, General Grant could not refuse. But, he only partially carried out the instructions. He went to North Carolina but General Sherman remained in command and concluded the negotiations of surrender with General Johnson.

When the news of the surrender of General Johnston reached Richmond, all knew that nothing of the Confederacy longer existed. As a fitting benediction to the epoch which had closed, Mrs. McGuire wrote "My native land, goodnight."

But, with the downfall of the Confederacy, attention turned toward the refugee who had been President of the Southern Confederacy. As previously stated, President Davis had left Richmond on the night of April 2, 1865 for Danville. While in Danville, he received the announcement of General Lee's surrender, also a warning to leave before the arrival of Federal troops which were marching toward the town. Immediately, he and his entire party withdrew into North Carolina. Arriving at Greensboro on April 10, they remained there for five stormy days, living in the leaky cars around the railroad station. Due to exposure, one member of the party, Mr. Trenholm,

became quite ill. He was removed to the home of ex-Governor Morehead. The rest of the bedraggled party endured the discomforts along with the disappointments and humiliation of defeat. Even Mr. Benjamin's wit and spirits were at low ebb, and there was little of his usual brilliant conversation.[26]

At Greensboro, a conference of Confederate leaders including President Davis, Generals Johnston, Beauregard, Breckenridge, Mr. Benjamin, Mr. Mallory and Mr. Regan, was held on the slope of a nearby hill. But, nothing was accomplished and the following evening, the party on horseback, much to Mr. Benjamin's discomfort, moved southward. As the April sun dried out the dampened clothes of the party, their spirits improved, and, as they journeyed along, Mr. Benjamin entertained the group by reciting Tennyson's Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington.[27]

While at Charlotte, the refugee group were distressed to hear of the assassination of Lincoln and reports of the radical trends at Washington. They

---

[26]Constance Cary Harrison, op. cit., 220-225.

[27]Ibid., 222.

ill. He was removed to the home of
Morehead. The rest of the bedraggled
ured the discomforts along with the clean-
and humiliation of defeat. Even Mr. Ben-
and spirits were at low ebb, and there
little of his usual brilliant conversation.
Greensboro, a conference of Confederate leaders
President Davis, General Johnston, Beau-
was held on the slope of a nearby hill. Bus-
accomplished and the following evening,
on horseback, much to Mr. Benjamin's dis-
moved southward. As the North sun dried
dampened clothes of the party, their spirits
and, as they journeyed along, Mr. Benja-
Death of the Duke of
at Charlotte, the refugee group were dis-
of the radical trends at Washington. They

hastened their journey, arriving, in a half-starved condition, at Washington, Georgia on May 3, 1865. Although glad to receive the former President of the Confederacy and his party, the citizens were indignant over his travelling with a large escort. They considered it an "imprudent thing for a man in his position to do." The entire community extended him coutesies and called at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Robertson where he was a guest, to pay their respects and to advise him of the danger which surrounded him. With sadness and uneasiness in the hearts of all, farewells were made the following morning. He rode away with a single companion and "appeared so alone and defenseless in the hands of so many enemies".[28]

The citizens of Washington were greatly excited, for the arrival of the Presidential cavalcade was not the only event which stirred that quiet little town. For, according to Eliza Andrews, whose diary is the source of this part of the story, there was much concern over the safety of the Confederate

---

[28]Eliza Andrews, War Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 210-220.

[illegible]

[illegible] and his party, the citizens were in-
[illegible] his travelling with a large escort.
[illegible]
[illegible] to do." The entire community
[illegible] him courtesies and called at the home of
[illegible]. Robertson where he was a guest, to
[illegible] respects and to advise him of the dan-
[illegible] which surrounded him. With sadness and uneasi-
[illegible]
[illegible] morning. He rode away with a single com-
[illegible] "appeared so alone and defenseless in
[illegible]

[illegible] citizens of Washington were greatly excited,
[illegible] arrival of the Presidential cavalcade was
[illegible]
[illegible] according to Elize Andrews, whose diary
[illegible]
[illegible] concern over the safety of the Confederate

[illegible] Andrews, War Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 210-
[illegible]

treasury, containing three hundred thousand dollars in specie, which had been brought to Washington by Judge Crump and was thought to have been stored in the vaults of the bank. She wrote in her Journal that, "Judge Crump is in a state of distraction about his poor little wandering exchequer, which seems to stand an even chance between the Scylla of his hungry cavalry and the Charybdis of Yankee cupidity". As is well known the treasury disappeared and the following explanation was given by Miss Andrews:

> The Yankee papers are not accusing Mr. Davis and his party of appropriating all the money in the Confederate treasury to their own use, but thank heaven everybody in Washington can refute that slander for all knew that the treasury was plundered here in our midst; and I saw some of the gold with my own eyes, in the hands of the Confederate soldiers-right where it ought to be.[29]

Soon after leaving the little town of Washington President Davis joined his refugee family. It is to be remembered that Mrs. Davis and children conducted by Burton Harrison had departed from Richmond several

---

[29] Ibid., 217.

days before the order for evacuation. At this time they were guests in the home of Colonel Burt near Asheville, South Carolina. When President Davis joined them, they moved toward Irwinsville, Goergia and established a camp. Finally, after a lengthy persuasion, President Davis consented to leave them and to attempt an escape to greater safety. Sadly he rode away. But, as it happened, he had not gone far before a terrific storm arose, and fearing for the safety of his family, he returned to the tent which they were occupying. His capture took place that night by Federal troops under the command of Lieutenant- Colonel Pritchard. And, the humiliations and sufferings which he endured during the long years of imprisonment at Fortress Monroe is another story.

And now, that the Confederacy was defeated, and the President of the Southern states was a prisoner, the devotion to the Cause for which they had fought and suffered remained. This devotion included the unhappy President. With deepest regret, Mrs. Chestnut heard the story of his capture. But, her faith in him was not lost and with a heavy heart

she wrote that,

> My chief is a prisoner, but I am proud of him still. He is a spectacle to gods and men. He will bear himself as a soldier, a patriot, a statesman, a Christian gentleman. He is the martyr of cause.[30]

Although previously criticised by some of the women writers, the President, in defeat, became a hero and martyr to them. In great wrath, they denounced his persecutors as the cruelest of villains and their actions as a disgrace that could never be wiped out.[31]

The realizations that the Confederacy was lost and President Davis was a prisoner were almost beyond the powers of comprehension of the women of the South. They felt as Catherine Ann Edmonston wrote in her Diary: " I seem as tho' in a dream. I go about in a kind of drowsy dream. I sleep- sleep- sleep endlessly. I sit in my chair for ten minutes- I doze- I think of it but cannot grasp

---

[30]Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit.

[31]Eliza Andrews, op. cit., 237-238; Virginia Clay-Clopton, op. cit., 270.

it or its future consequences! I sit benumbed! It is to me like the idea of eternity."[31]

As time passed, the women of the South recognized that all was not lost and that adjustments to the emergencies of the post-war period were necessary and possible. In writing to a friend in Europe, the wife of a former Confederate General said that,

> There are many things in which our life is changed- many luxuries which we have forgotten to miss. Our mode of procurring necessities is very different and far more complicated... To all these we are so familiarized that we laugh at these changes in our warp of life and keep our regrets for graver things... What we have lost in external appearances and possessions, I trust we shall have gained in sublimer virtues and more important qualities.[32]

With a spirit of determination and self-sacrifice they set about to rebuild the South. It was said of one of the women who had lost everything that

---

[31]Simkins and Patton, The Women of the Confederacy, 246.

[32]The Southern Literary Messenger, June 1865, 382.

There are many things in which
our life is changed- many luxuries
which we have forgotten to miss.
Our mode of procuring necessities
is very different and far more
complicated... To all these we are
so familiarized that we laugh at
these changes in our ways of life
and keep our regrets for graver
things... What we have lost in
external appearances and possessions,
I trust we shall have gained in
sublimer virtues and more important
qualities.[2]

spirit of determination and self-sacrifice

the women who had lost everything that

---

and Patton, The Women of the Confederacy, 24.

Southern Literary Messenger, June 1845, 346.

"she doesn't howl; she doesn't cry; she never, never tells anybody about what she is used to at home, and what she has lost."[33]

And, in looking back on the defeat of the Confederacy, the women were confident that they lost because of the use of superior numbers and the use of unfair tactics on the part of the North. Then, years later, in reminiscing, a web of romance was woven by them over the war and its heroes. And, as to be expected, all the heroes were Confederates, for "the bare idea of a full blown Yankee hero" was absurd,[34] and all the Confederates were gallant.

---

[33]Mary B. Chestnut, op. cit., 363.

[34]Eliza Andrews, op. cit., 289-290.

[illegible] howl; she doesn't cry; she never, never [illegible] has lost."[33]

[illegible] back on the defeat of the Con- [illegible] of superior numbers and the use of unfair tactics [illegible] of the North. Then, years later, in reminis- [illegible] of romance was woven by them over the war and [illegible]. And, as to be expected, all the heroes were [illegible], for "the bare idea of a full blown Yankee [illegible],[34] and all the Confederates were gallant.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Bibliography

Allen, Elizabeth Preston, The Life and Letters of Margaret Junkin Preston. Boston, 1903.

Anderson, Mrs. John Huske, North Carolina Women of the Confederacy. Fayetteville, 1926.

Andrews, Eliza Frances, The War Time Journal of a Georgia Girl. New York, 1908.

Andrews, Matthew Page, The Women of the South in War Times. Baltimore, 1920.

Beaumont, Mrs. Betty Bentley, Twelve Years of My Life. Philadelphia, 1887.

Beers, Mrs. Fannie A., Memories, Philadelphia, 1889.

Boyd, Belle, In Camp and Prison, London, 1868.

Branch, Mrs. Mary Polk, Memories of a Southern Woman, Chicago, 1912.

Bryce, Mrs. Campbell, Personal Experiences during the Burning of Columbia, 1899.

Chamberlain, Hope Summerall, Old Days in Chapel Hill. Chapel Hill, 1926.

Chestnut, Mary Boykin, A Diary from Dixie. New York, 1929.

[illegible]

[illegible] Mrs. John Huske, North Carolina Women of the [illegible]. Fayetteville, 1926.

[illegible] Frances, The War Time Journal of a [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] In Camp and Prison, London, 1868.

[illegible] Mrs. Mary Polk, Memories of a Southern Woman, Chi- [illegible].

[illegible] Campbell, Personal Experiences during the [illegible] Columbia, 1899.

[illegible] Hope [illegible] [illegible], 1928.

[illegible] Mary Boykin, A Diary from Dixie. New York, 1929.

Clayton, Victoria, White and Black under Old Regime. Milwaukee, 1899.

Clay-Clopton, Virginia, Belle of the Fifties. New York, 1905.

Clay-Clopton, Virginia, Diary. Unpublished diary in Duke University Library.

Clay-Clopton, Virginia, Scrapbook. Unpublished, Duke University Library.

Coxe, Elizabeth Allen, Memories of a South Carolina Plantation during the War. Privately published, 1912.

Cummings, Kate, Gleanings from Southland. Birmingham, 1896.

Cummings, Kate, Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of Tennessee. Louisville, 1866.

Daniel, Lizzie, A Confederate Girl's Scrapbook. Richmond, 1899.

Davis, Varina Howell, Jefferson Davis, a Memoir. New York, 1890. Two volumes.

Dawson, Sarah Morgan, A Confederate Girl's Story. New York, 1913.

De Bow, J. D. B., Review. New Orleans and Washington, 1858.

Dictionary of American Biography. Under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. Edited by Dumas Malone. New York, 1928-1936.

[illegible]. [illegible]. White and Black under Old Rooms. [illegible] 1899.

[illegible], Virginia. Belle of the Fifties. New York, [illegible].

[illegible]on, Virginia. Diary. Unpublished diary in [illegible] Ivernaley Library.

[illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. [

Greenhow, Rose, My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington. London, 1863.

Harrison, Constance Cary, Recollections Grave and Gay. New York, 1912.

Hague, Parthenia, A Blockaded Family. Boston, 1888.

Hopley-Smith, Catherine, Life in the South, by a Blockaded British Subject. London, 1863. Two volumes.

King, Grace, Memories of a Southern Woman of Letters. New York, 1932.

Law, Sallie C., Reminiscences of the War of the Sixties. Memphis, 1892.

Le Grand, Julia, Journal of New Orleans. Richmond, 1911.

Logan, Kate Cox, My Confederate Girlhood. Richmond, 1932.

Loughborough, Mrs. Mary Ann, My Cave Life in Vicksburg. 1864.

Magill, Mary Tucker, Women or Chronicles of Late War. Baltimore, 1871.

McDonald, Mrs. Cornelia, A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refuge Life in the Shenandoah Valley. Nashville, 1934.

McGuire, Judith Brockenborough, Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War. New York, 1867.

McHatton-Ripley, Eliza, From Flag to Flag. New York, 1889.

Moore, Mrs. J. H., Memories of a Long Life in Virginia. Lexington, Virginia, 1920.

Moore, Mrs. M. B., Dixie Primer. Raleigh, N. C., 1863

Moore, Mrs. M. B., Geographical Reader. Raleigh, N. C.,

Morgan, Mrs. Irby, How It Was. Four Years among the Rebels. Nashville, 1892.

Old Capitol and its Inmates. By a Lady who enjoyed the Hospitalities of the Government for a Season. New York, 1867.

Pember, Phoebe Yates, A Southern Woman's Story. New York, 1879.

Pringle, Elizabeth Allston, Chronicles of Chicora Wood. New York, 1922.

Pryor, Mrs. Roger A., Reminiscences of Peace and War. New York, 1904.

Pryor, Mrs. Roger A., My Day. New York, 1909.

Putnam, Sallie Brock, Richmond during the War. New York, 1867.

Ravenal, Charlotte St. Julian, Two Diaries from Middle St. Johns. Berkeley. Charleston, 1920.

[illegible]-Ripley, Eliza, *From Flag to Flag*. New York, [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]. Mrs. M. B., *Dixie Primer*. Raleigh, N. C. [illegible]

[illegible]. Mrs. M. B., *Geographical Reader*. Raleigh, N. C.

[illegible] Mrs. Irby, *How It Was*. [illegible] Nashville, [illegible].

[illegible] *Lady who enjoyed the* [illegible] *of the Government for a Season*. [illegible]

[illegible]. Phoebe Yates, *A Southern Woman's Story*. New [illegible] 1879.

[illegible] *Rose*. [illegible]

[illegible]. Mrs. Roger A., *Reminiscences of Peace and War*. New York, 1904.

[illegible]. Mrs. Roger A., *My Day*. New York, 1909.

[illegible]. Sallie Brock, *Richmond during the War*. New [illegible]

[illegible]. Charlotte St. Julien, *Two Diaries from Mid* [illegible]

Richard, J. Fraise, The Florence Nightingale of the Southern Army. New York, 1914.

Roane, Letitia, Diary. 1861-1865. An unpublished diary in Duke University Library.

Rowland, Eron, Varina Howell. New York, 1927. Two volumes.

Smedes, Susan Dabney, Memorials of a Southern Planter. Baltimore, 1887.

Smith, Mrs. S. E. D., The Soldiers' Friend. Four Years Experiences and Observations in the Hospitals of the South. Memphis, 1867.

Southwood, Marian, Beauty and Booty, the Watchword of New Orleans. New York, 1866.

Spencer, Cornelia Phillips. The Last Ninety Days of the War. New York, 1866.

Taylor, Mrs. Thomas, South Carolina Women in the Confederacy. New York, 1906.

Towne, Laura M., Letters and Diary. Cambridge, 1912.

Underwood, Rev. J. L., The Women of the Confederacy. New York, 1906.

Vasser, Rebecca, My Journal. 1862. An unpublished diary in the Duke University Library.

Velasquez, Loreta Janeta, The Women in Battle. Hartford, 1876.

[illegible]

[illegible] Diary. 1861-1865. An unpublished [illegible]

[illegible] Varina Howell. New York, 1927. Two [illegible]

[illegible] Dabney, Memorials of a Southern Planter. [illegible] 1887.

[illegible] Experiences and Observations in the Hospitals of the [illegible] Memphis, 1867.

[illegible], Marian, Beauty and Booty, the Watchword of [illegible] New York, 18[illegible].

[illegible] Cornelia Phillips. The Last Ninety Days of [illegible]

[illegible] South Carolina Women in the Confed- [illegible] New York, 190[illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible], Rev. J. L., The Women of the Confederacy. [illegible]

[illegible] Rebecca, My Journal. 18[illegible]. An unpublished [illegible] in the Duke University Library.

[illegible], Loreta Janeta, The Women in Battle. [illegible] 1876.

Worth, Mrs. Josephine Bryan, *War Days in Fayetteville*.

Wright, Louise Wigfall, *A Southern Girl in '61*. New York, 1905.

Duke University Libraries
D01875692